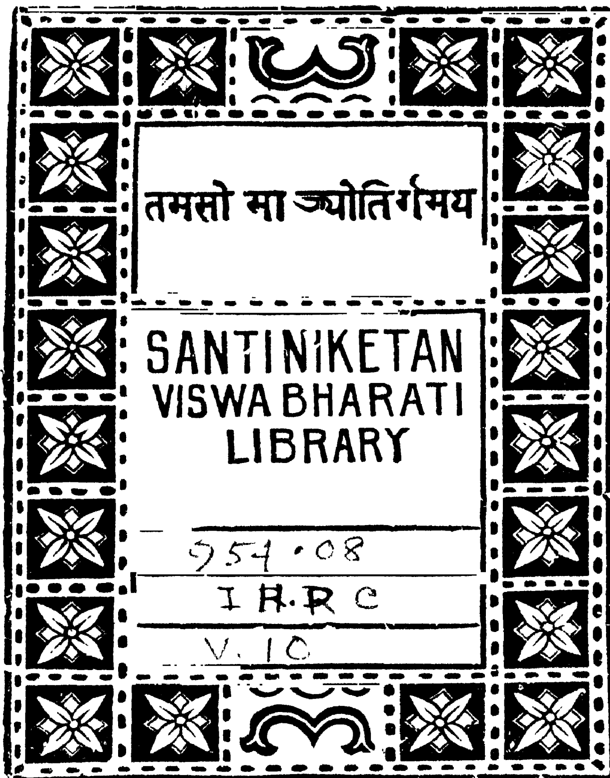


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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

PROCEEDINGS

OF

MEETINGS

Vol. X

TENTH MEETING HELD AT RANGOON

December 1927.



CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
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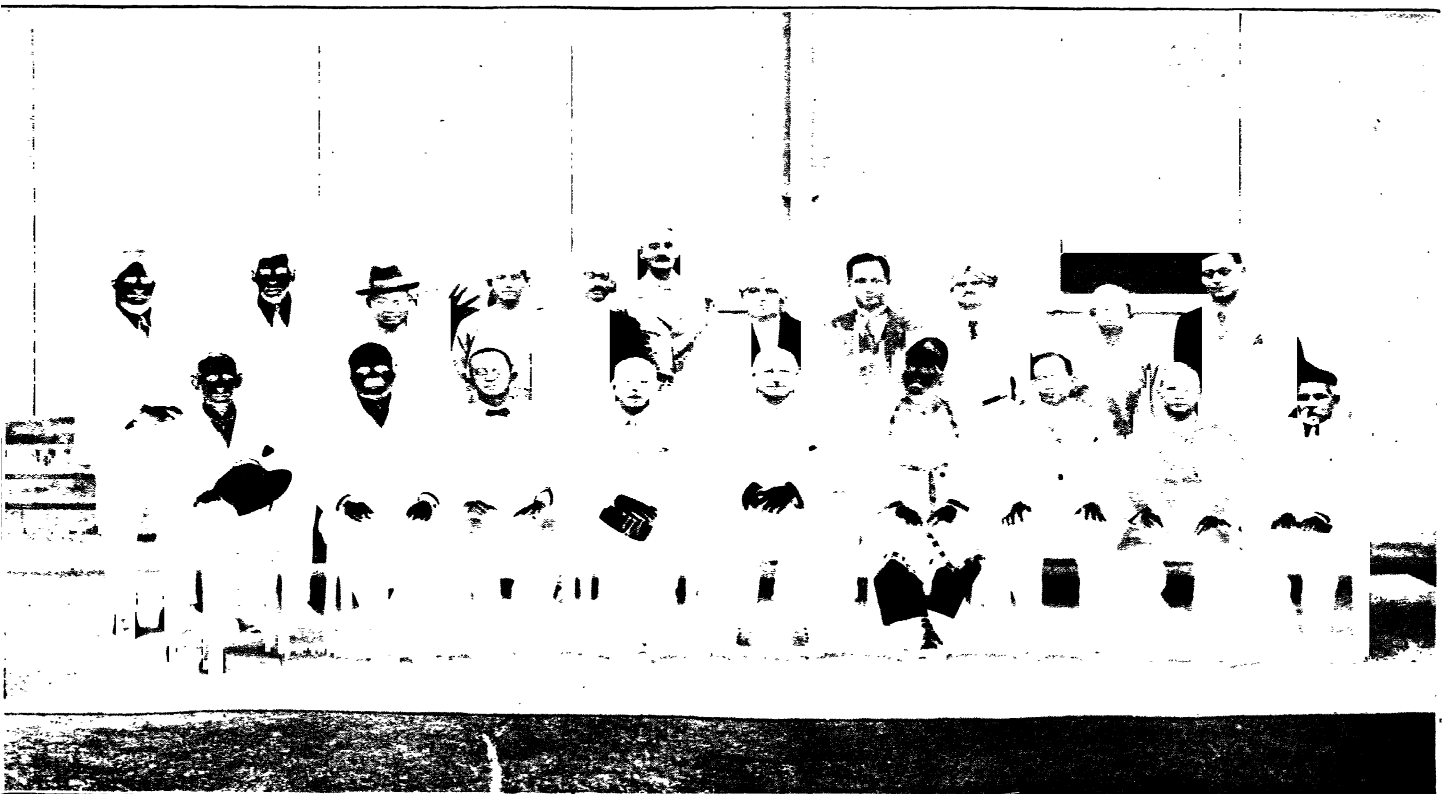
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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.

10TH SESSION, RANGOON.

7th December, 1927.



Left to Right—Standing—Prof. G. H. Luce, Mr. L. F. Taylor, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, Prof. Pe Maung Tin, Mr. Syed Khurshed Ali, Mr. J. P. Bulkeley, Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain, U. Ba Dun, Mr. V. S. Wakaskar, U. Khin Maung, Prof. D. G. E. Hall.

Left to Right—Sitting—The Hon'ble Mr. O'de Glanville, The Hon'ble Sir William Keith, The Hon'ble Sir Joseph Maung Gyi, Principal H. G. Rawlinson,

Proceedings of the Tenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Rangoon on 7th and 8th December 1927.

The tenth public meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Legislative Council Chamber, Rangoon, on the 7th December 1927. An exhibition of documents, seals, coins, paintings and other objects of historical interest obtained from the Government archives, Indian States, public institutions and private individuals was held at the Railway Institute, Rangoon in connection with the meeting. The proceedings were opened by H. E. the Governor of Burma at 11 A.M. in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering. The following members of the Commission were unavoidably absent:—

Mr J. W. Bhore, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands and *ex-officio* President of the Commission.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

Mr R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Hooghly College.

Mr H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.

Mr S. C. Roy, Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal, (*ex-officio*).

Mr H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona, acted as Chairman during the session.

The following members were present:—

1. Mr H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona.
2. Mr G. S. Sardesai, B.A., (Bombay).
3. Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A. (Secretary).

The following co-opted members were also present:—

1. The Hon'ble Sir J. A. Maung Gyi, Kt., Bar-at-Law, Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Burma.

2. Mr J. P. Bulkeley, M.A., I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Burma.
3. U. Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E., I.S.O., M.R.A.S., Late Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Burma, Mandalay, and Editor of the Hlutdaw Records (*i.e.*, Records of the Old Privy Council of the Burmese Court at Mandalay).
4. Mr D. G. E. Hall, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., I.E.S., Professor of History, University of Rangoon and Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission.
5. Mr G. H. Luce, M.A. (Cantab), I.E.S., Lecturer of University College, Rangoon.
6. U. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., (Cal.) B. Litt. (Oxon.), I.E.S., Professor of Oriental Studies, University of Rangoon.
7. Mr L. F. Taylor, M.A. (Cantab), F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I., I.E.S., Headmaster, Government High School, Bassein and Research Lecturer in Indo-Chinese Ethnology and Linguistics, University College, Rangoon.
8. U. Ba Dun, Bar-at-law, Secretary, Burma Legislative Council.
9. U. Khin Maung, B.A., M.L.A., Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Rangoon.
10. Mr J. S. Furnivall, B.A., I.C.S. (Retd.), Director, Burma Book Club, Rangoon.
11. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain, Advocate, Lahore High Court; President, Punjab Historical Society and Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission.
12. Mr Mesrovb J. Seth, M.R.A.S., Member of the Council of Calcutta Historical Society.
13. Mr H. G. Franks, Journalist, Bombay.
14. Mr Syed Khurshed Ali, M.A., Hyderabad.
15. Mr V. S. Wakaskar, Baroda.

Speech of His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler.

In opening the proceedings His Excellency the Governor said:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is a great pleasure to me to preside this morning and to welcome the Indian Historical Records Commission on this their first visit to Burma. I regret that the collection and custody of our Government records has not been

advanced very far. They have been scattered to a certain extent for historical reasons. Moulmein was the capital of British Burma, which then included only Tenasserim and Arakan, from 1827 to 1853. From 1853 onwards Rangoon was the capital and the headquarters of the Hanthawaddy district. The Hanthawaddy district was divided in 1879 and this resulted in further dissipation of records. We have had the advantage of the advice of Mr Dodwell from Madras and we had proceeded so far that we endeavoured to recruit a Curator from the British Museum. Before this transaction was completed it was decided in Sir Reginald Craddock's time to postpone action until a new secretariat, council chamber and record room had been built. Eventually it was decided not to build a new secretariat, council chamber and record room. Since then no further progress has been made. The Government, however, will be very glad of any advice which you, gentlemen, may give. It fully appreciates the importance of the matter and although for financial reasons it will not be possible to undertake new buildings at present, I have no doubt some arrangement can be made to place things upon a more satisfactory footing.

There has, however, been considerable activity among those interested in the antiquities of Burma. First, the unique collection of Burmese, Mon and Pali manuscripts in the Bernard Free Library, catalogues of which (in Burmese) have been published by the Library, secondly, the University has formed quite a considerable library of Chinese works relating to Burmese history. There are now altogether 40 Chinese works, including 4,848 fascicules, in the University Library; they should supply means of solving many of the mysteries besetting the early and middle periods of Burmese history; thirdly there is a proposal of prime importance now before the University authorities to take steps to publish photographic plates (taken from rubbings) of all the original inscriptions of Burma, as the French Government is doing to those of French Indo-China. Such a publication would provide the only solid basis for the study of Burmese history in the University. Another proposal before the University is to approach the Government of Siam to furnish us with all kinds of historical material in Siam relating to Burma, the University undertaking to pay the cost, or, if preferred, to furnish Siam similarly with historical material in Burma relating to Siam.

I must now refer to the Burma Research Society. Burma, as you know, is distinguished from all the countries of Indo-China by having not a longer, but a more continuous historical tradition than any. From the middle of the 11th century A.D., when the main body of the inscriptions may be said to begin, right up to the annexation of Upper Burma, the historical record is unbroken. The Burma Research Society, founded in 1910, has set itself from the first to maintain this tradition. It has won the interest and support of all members of the community; and perhaps the most important fact about

it is that it has served as a link between the ancient and honourable school of Burmese and Mon scholarship, and the modern school of scientific research. The pages of its journal have provided the ground, and sometimes the battle-ground, of discussion of the multifarious problems surrounding the history of Burma. Here are to be found accounts of excavations; early attempt at reading the inscriptions; solutions of the puzzles of chronology; miscellaneous material about frontier tribes; lists and extracts from manuscripts in the British Museum, India Office, Bodleian and other distant libraries. It contains numerous translations of local and pagoda chronicles in all parts of the province, of early Burmese literature, and of some Chinese and Portuguese sources. I may mention in paticular the extract translated from the unique revenue-inquest of 1764, and the editing—with text, translation and notes—of those of 1783 and 1802 for the old province of Hanthawaddy. One number is devoted to a rare Mon Chronicle, edited with text and translation; another to a very thorough treatment of English relations with Burma from 1587 to 1686. A number of articles have been published giving original documents, Burmese and English, about the First Burmese War; about Mergui in the early days of British control and extracts from Sir Arthur Phayre's papers. The Society has also opened a Text Publication Fund, which has already issued eleven volumes; of these two at least are of historical importance—the text, never before printed, of the first volume of *Maung Kala Yazawin*, and a translation of that of the *Hmannan Yazawin*—both standard Burmese Chronicles; others are also in preparation. As evidence of local interest in Burmese history, it is a striking fact that not only is the Society self- supporting, but also that the texts that it has published, often rare and abstruse, have more than paid their way. Lastly the project of a new Burmese Dictionary, initiated by the Society, supported by the University, and financed by the Local Government, has not only had the effect of stimulating research into Burmese history, but will also it is hoped, provide the means of dealing with the subject more fully than has hitherto been possible.

It only remains, Gentlemen, for me to assure you that the Government will take great interest in the results of your labours.

Reply of Mr H. G. Rawlinson.

Mr H. G. Rawlinson, in returning thanks to His Excellency on behalf of the Commission, said:—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

My first duty is to thank His Excellency and our hosts for the very warm welcome they have accorded us to the beautiful capital of your famous and historic country. My second is to explain to you the exact nature of the

errand which has brought us hither. It is hardly necessary for me to enlarge upon the supreme importance of original documents for the study of history. Their value is every day being recognised more and more in Europe, where, even in schools, " Source-books " are rightly becoming more generally used in teaching.

The science of Record Keeping, as of Librarianship, may be traced in the first instance to France, where the Revolutionary Government in 1789 was forced, during the outbreak, to take steps to secure the safety of the records of confiscated civil and ecclesiastical establishments. In 1800 a Royal Commission was appointed to examine into the question of English Records. In 1838 the Public Records Act was passed, placing Records under the custody of the Master of the Rolls. But things were still in a very bad way for many years to come. During the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria, hundreds of tons of records, mostly of a very early date were destroyed by local custodians. In 1910, a Royal Commission on records was appointed under the Chairmanship of Sir F. Pollock and including some of the most eminent historians of the day. Its task was to report upon the custody of records and their preservation from injury; their publication, cataloguing and indexing, the steps taken to make them accessible to students; the establishment of the Record Office and the training of archivists. The Commission discovered records in all sorts of queer places, the towers and vesteries of parish churches, lobbies of Government offices, storerooms of naval and military arsenals, cupboards in farm-houses, hired chambers and lumber rooms. The Commission published these reports (1) 1912, on the Public Record Office; (2) 1914, on the papers of Government Departments; (3) 1919, on local Records. The first fruit of their labours may be seen by any one whose researches take him to such institutions as the Public Record Office or the India Office, to name two out of countless depositories of archives in the British Isles. Now it is in order to effect similar results in India that the Historical Records Commission was established directly after the Great War in 1919. The Commission seeks to do for written documents what Lord Curzon did for Indian monuments in 1902. Its object is to co-ordinate the work being done by local Governments both in British India and Burma and in the Indian States and where necessary, to tender advice upon the subject of the preservation of their records from the results of exposure to damp and heat (heat is the most assiduous foe of old records because it makes paper brittle) and from white ants, rats and other pests, to prevent the destruction of old records by unauthorised persons and to secure the cataloguing, indexing and printing of records so as to make their contents accessible to the research worker and student. Our chief object in a word, is to stimulate and awaken the interest of the public in their national archives, but I think that the session also acts as an admirable medium for bringing together historical

workers from many different parts of India and affording them an unique opportunity for the exchange of ideas.

Gentlemen, before I sit down it is my sad duty to refer to the death of one of our most indefatigable members, Mr Julius Cotton, I.C.S. Mr Cotton comes of a family which has loved and served India for three generations. and both he and his brother Sir Evan Cotton have taken a leading part in our work. Only last year Mr Cotton was with us at Lucknow seemingly in the best of health and the life and soul of our meeting. He leaves behind a mass of unfinished work and his place will be hard to fill. His absence from our midst will be keenly felt by us all during our present session.

After His Excellency retired Mr H. G. Rawlinson was voted to the chair. A resolution was moved from the Chair expressing profound sorrow at the loss which the Indian Historical Records Commission had suffered by the death of Mr J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., M.A., of Madras who had been for several years one of the most enthusiastic members of the Commission. The resolution was carried unanimously, the audience standing in solemn silence. The Secretary was authorised to convey to the members of Mr Cotton's family the sense of the resolution. A number of papers on historical subjects or their summaries were then read. The meeting lasted till 4 P.M.

The Historical Exhibition organised in connection with the Rangoon session of the Commission was formally opened by H. E. the Governor of Burma at 4-30 P.M. in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen. The exhibits collected by Mr D. G. E. Hall, M.A., F.R.Hist. S., I.E.S., Professor of History, University of Rangoon, included a number of Burmese chronicles, Talaing manuscripts, rubbings of inscriptions, Sittans (details of Revenue and Military service due from Alungpaya dynasty), old Burmese historical ballads on palm leaf and parabaiks (title deeds of monasteries or pagodas to lands). The exhibits from Calcutta included autograph minutes of Lord Amherst and Sir C. T. Metcalfe on the practice of Satī and draft of a *sanad* granting the Zamindari of Burdwan to Maharajadhiraj Tej Chand Bahadur, lent by the Government of Bengal; Moore's views at and near Rangoon (19 plates, London, 1825-6) and Symes' account of an embassy to the Kingdom of Ava, 1795, belonging to the Imperial Library; an autograph letter of H. M. Queen Victoria to the King of Burma and other documents relating to the early connection of the East India Company with Burma, selected from among the papers in the Imperial Record Office. Among the exhibits obtained in Calcutta from non-official sources were a Burmese Golden Book from the collection of Mr P. C. Nahar, M.A., B.L., which was acquired from a member of the Royal family of Burma and some Tibetan manuscripts written on palm leaves, which were brought from Tibet by the late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E. A number of interesting exhibits were brought from Hyderabad by Mr Syed

Khurshed Ali, the representative of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government. In response to numerous requests from the public, the Exhibition was kept open till the 13th December. H. E. the Governor of Burma paid a second visit to the Exhibition on the morning of the 8th December. A complete list of the exhibits will be found in the Appendix.

The 8th December was a very busy day for the members of the Commission. In the morning they inspected the Bernard Free Library and the Record-rooms of the Burma Secretariat. The members of the Commission had the honour of lunching with His Excellency the Governor at Government House, Rangoon. Between 11 and 12 A.M. and again between 3 and 4 P.M. on the same day the members' meeting was held at the Legislative Council Chamber. After the meeting was over the members visited the Kodatkyi Pagoda and other places of interest in the town. In the evening the members of the Commission were entertained at the Orient Club by the Hon'ble Mr Justice Mya Bu and Mrs Mya Bu. This function was attended by the elite of Rangoon and was pronounced to be one of the most successful social functions of the season. On the following morning the members visited the Shwedagon Pagoda.

The Mémoires of Gentil.

(By Sir Evan Cotton, M.A., C.I.E.)

In 1822 the memoirs of Colonel Gentil were published at Paris under the following title:

> Mémoires | sur | l'Indoustan | ou | Empire Mogol | par M. Gentil | Ancien Colonel d'Infanterie, Chevalier de l'Order Royal et | Militaire de Saint-Louis; Résident Français auprès du Premier | Vézyr de l'Empire, Nabab et Souverain d'Aoude, d'Eléabad, etc. | Choudja-a-ed Doulah, Général des Troupes Mogoles au service | de ce Prince, etc. | Ornés de Trois Gravures et d'une carte.
>
> Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt | (Virg. Ecl. V.).
>
> A Paris | chez Petit, Libraire de S. A. R. Monsieur | et de S. A. S. le Duc de Bourbon, | Palais-Royal. Galeries des Bois, no 257, | 1822.

The book is not easily available, and is seldom quoted in the histories of India during the eighteenth century. Sir George Forrest makes no mention of it in his Life of Clive: and Professor Dodwell is content with a single casual reference in his book on 'Dupleix and Clive'. Yet Gentil's career in India is practically covered by the thirty remarkable years—from 1746 to 1776—during which the English in India passed from the lowest depths of adversity to the summit of triumph. Madras surrendered to La Bourdonnais in 1746. The Governor of Fort Saint George was then Nicholas Morse, and

the irony of fate was never more strikingly exemplified than when it condemned this descendant of Cromwell and Ireton to march with the members of his Council in humiliating procession through the streets of Pondicherry. A succession of fortunate strokes followed whereby Bussy made himself master of the Deccan, and Dupleix set up a creature of his own on the throne of the Carnatic. The nadir of British disaster seemed to have been reached in 1756, when Fort William surrendered to Siraj-ud-Daula and the chiefs of the Calcutta Factory were either carried into captivity or left to await a deliverer in the fever-stricken swamps of Falta. Suddenly the wheel began to revolve. In the course of a few months British arms were in the ascendant everywhere. Pondicherry and Chandernagore were in ruins. Forde ejected Conflans from the Northern Circars, which had become an appanage of Bussy. The influence of the English over the Deccan and the Carnatic was firmly established and their hold upon Bengal was assured beyond all question by the battles of Plassey and Buxar. The Nawabs, both at Arcot and Moorshedabad, were the pensioners of the London Company.

It is true that Gentil arrived in India in 1752 when the tide was almost imperceptibly on the turn. But Bussy was still supreme at Hyderabad and Dupleix at Pondicherry. After the collapse of the French domination of the Northern Circars and the loss of Pondicherry in 1761, he took service first with Mir Kasim the "Nabob of a day", and then with Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh. When he left India in 1778, Warren Hastings had been for six years at the head of the government of Calcutta, and English influence was extending in all directions. Every French settlement was in English hands, and the sun of Gentil's countrymen had set in Hindustan, in spite of the false dawn which lingered for a while in Mysore and in the territories of Sindia and Holkar. The narrative of such a career cannot be devoid of interest, even if the historical value of it needs upon occasion to be tested.

Jean Baptiste Joseph Gentil was born at Bagnols in lower Languedoc on June 25, 1726. The family is said to have come in the first instance from Geneva, and to have received a patent of nobility in 1592 from Charles Emmanuel the First, duke of Savoy: but the ancestors of Gentil had established themselves in France some years before that date. No details are given of his early career: and the Memoirs open with a sketch of the history of the Deccan from 1288 to the death of Nizamoulmoulouk (Nizam-ul-Mulk) in 1746 and the rise of French influence at the court of his son Salabet-Jangue (Salabat Jang). The personal note is then introduced.

> The desire which I had to satisfy my curiosity after what I had heard related of the riches of the Mogul Empire, and my wish to attain an independent station in life, my father having been unable to leave me any fortune as I was the youngest of his three sons—all these considerations prompted me to depart for that distant country and to accept service in a regiment intended for the French colonies in the East Indies.

He sailed from Lorient on February 13, 1752. On March 3 the anchor was dropped at San Jago, the largest of the Cape Verde Islands. The voyage was resumed on March 18 and "we arrived on May 29, having had a favourable wind throughout, at Enjouan" (Johanna, an island of the Comoro group, off Madagascar). This was a recognized halting-place. Gentil makes no mention of scurvy which was the usual scourge in those days of travellers on shipboard[1], but revictualling had become a necessity. Pondicherry was ultimately reached on July 13.

Dupleix had just received a check before Trichenapali (Trichinopoly) where the besieging force under Law de Lauriston had been compelled by Stringer Lawrence to surrender. But the young Gentil was selected for service further north and on July 29 he disembarked at Masulipatam with three hundred white troops and marched to join M. de Bussy who was wintering at Ayedérabad (Hyderabad). They arrived at their destination on August 23. "The country through which we passed was deserted: the people regarded us with astonishment as they had never seen so many, or such well-equipped Frenchmen".

Charles Joseph Patissier, Marquis de Bussy et de Castelnau, was now the virtual ruler of the Deccan. Upon the death in December 1750 of Nasir Jang, the second son of Asaf Jah (Nizam-ul-Mulk) who had seized the throne in June 1748, the French had supported the cause of his nephew Muzaffar Jang, who was installed at Pondicherry as Subadar of the Deccan, and escorted by Bussy to his dominions. But his reign was short. He was killed in the following year in an expedition against the Nawabs of Kurnool and Savanur. Bussy now procured the appointment as Subadar of Salabat Jang, the third son of the old Nizam-ul-Mulk, and practically turned him into a French prefect. Muzaffar Jang had already made Dupleix governor of the country south of the Kistna, and he was meditating the assumption of the title of Nawab and the nomination of naibs to conduct the administration. But Salabat Jang changed his status to that of absolute owner by granting the provinces of Arcot, Trichinopoly and Madura to him and after him to the French nation free of all tribute, on condition of alliance and support. This is altogether the work of M. de Bussy, wrote Dupleix to the French Company, and not only secures the Arcot Government for the nation but dispenses with the need of sending funds to India for investment[2].

It was at this stage that Gentil made his appearance on the stage. The Marathas under the Peshwa Balaji Rao invaded the Deccan, and although a

[1] A curious cure for scurvy is mentioned by John Macdonald who went out to Bombay as Colonel Alexander Dow's personal servant in April 1769, and called at Johanna in August: "The first thing that was done in the morning was to send on shore the men who had the scurvy, to put them into the earth up to the neck and to remain there one day . . . Their skin will be as black as coal when put in: and in two days they were as well as ever" (Memoirs of an Eighteenth Century Footman: ed. Beresford, p. 102).

[2] Letter of February 19, 1752 in the *Archives des Colonies françaises*, quoted by Mr Dodwell in his "Dupleix and Clive" (p. 87). Clive, observes Mr Dodwell, used almost the same words regarding the British acquisitions in Bengal.

peace was patched up early in 1752, Balaji Rao instead of cementing an alliance with Salabat Jang, supported the cause of his brother Ghazi-ud-din and again entered the Deccan with Raghoji Bhonsla (Gentil's Ragotgi). Bussy began to think of retiring northward with Salabat Jang, and wrote for help to Dupleix who sent him the reinforcement of three hundred Europeans to whom Gentil was attached.

He arrived at Hyderabad as we have seen at the end of August 1752. In October Ghazi-ud-din was poisoned at Aurangabad by the mother of Salabat Jang, and peace was made with Balaji Rao on November 22. But there was another brother Nizam Ali (who was later on in 1761 to depose and imprison Salabat Jang) and Gentil's first duty was to mount guard over him. He was consequently unable to witness the wedding festivities of Salabat Jang but he makes amends later on by describing at great length the marriage of one of the Nawab's nieces, a daughter of Nasir Jang.

Peace having been assured with the Marathas, Bussy turned his attention (says Gentil) to Mayssour (Mysore) which was nine years in arrear with its tribute. Mysore is described by Gentil as "an extremely rich country and of extraordinary fertility."

> It might then be called the treasurehouse of India. Each ruler amassed as much as he could: it was a crime to touch these accumulations of wealth. As each prince succeeded, he guarded them and preserved them with care. The more the sovereign added to the mass, the more famous he rendered himself and the more respected he became . . . The inhabitants are of a peaceable character and were at this time tributaries to the Soubah of the Dékhan. The rajah's contributions were not fixed: they varied in proportion to the fear inspired by the forces of the Nabab, and were not paid unless the prince came at the head of his troops to demand them.

I do not know (writes Gentil) what demon it was that frustrated the projects of Bussy. But the Nawab's cavalry refused to proceed beyond Calberga (Gulbarga) unless the arrears of their pay were liquidated: and "it may be also that they were alarmed by the fate which had recently overtaken Nasir Jang". A month was wasted at Gulbarga, "the Rome of the Mussulmans of this country"[3] and eventually the campaign was put off until the following year. The army marched northward from Gulbarga towards Oudeguir (Udgir), "a little town situated near the pass through the mountains" (the Balaghat range). Here Bussy, who had fallen ill, handed over the command to Goupil and acting on his surgeon's advice proceeded to Masulipatam. From Udgir the army crossed the Ganga (Godavari) and pitched its camp near Mahor (Mahur) which Gentil describes as a fortress situated upon a

[3] Gentil seems to be alluding to the famous darga or shrine at Gulbarga of Banda Nawaz Chishti: and also to the Jami Masjid, one of the finest Pathan mosques in India which was built in the fifteenth century by Firoz Shah Bahmani.

mountain which renders it impregnable[4]. Here it halted for a month during which time " we were overcome by the excessive heat ". The Nawab now demanded of Rogotgi (Raghuji Bhonsla) the payment of his contributions. This was at first refused and preparations were made to ravage the country, whereupon (says Gentil) the contributions were paid. He omits to add that Raghuji obtained a *quid pro quo* in the shape of jagirs in Berar. Two hundred Frenchmen, of whom Gentil was one, and six guns accompanied the Nawab to Aurangabad and a public entry (which is described in detail) was made into the town on June 11, 1753. The remainder of the French detachment, five hundred in number, went into winter quarters with Goupil at Hyderabad.

Gentil's next duty was to command the Nawab's escort when he left Aurangabad on June 21 to make a pilgrimage to the grave of his father Nizam-ul-Mulk at " Darga "[5]. The escort was composed of forty European horsemen, the Portuguese Company[6] and a thousand sepoys. " So long as I was at the head of this detachment, there was no Moor who did not pay court to me." The return journey was made by way of Daulatabad and here Salabat Jang imprisoned his two brothers.

In June 1753 Bussy returned to Hyderabad, at the earnest entreaty of Dupleix. The minister Saiyid Lashkar Khan (whom Gentil calls Rouknoudoulah) was dismissed. With his disgrace " vanished all my hopes of fortune," writes Gentil, who had ingratiated himself with him, and was evidently, from his account, expecting a jagir. Such favours as were now obtainable were conferred on Bussy who " seeing that he was master of the situation demanded from the Nabab, as surety for the payment of the French troops, the four provinces situated on the coast of Orixa, namely, Radjimandri (Rajahmundry) Eléour (Ellore) Moustaphanagar (Guntur) and Chikakol " (or Maphizbandar in the modern Ganjam district). The formal cession was made in February 1754. The Nawab, says Gentil, drew little revenue from them: but they were capable of producing twenty five lakhs of rupees, and even if well administered a net surplus of sixty lakhs, after payment of all expenses[7]. They were easy to hold: a chain of " inaccessible " and wooded

[4] Mahur is in the north of the Nizam's Dominions in the Adilabad district, near the Penganga river which forms the boundary of the Central Provinces.

[5] Nizam-ul-Mulk, who is alleged to have died at the age of 104, is buried at Rauza, or Khuldabad, a walled town situated eight miles from Daulatabad and two miles from the caves of Ellora. Rauza is the Kerbela of the Deccan Musulmans and contains also the tombs of Aurangzeb and his son Azam Shah, Nasir Jang, and Malik Amber, the Hubshi (Abyssinian) minister of the last of the Nizam Shahi kings. Gentil's name for the town is derived from the dargah (shrine) of Saiyid Hazrat Burhan-ud-din, in which the grave of Nizam-ul-Mulk is placed. The tomb of Aurangzeb is opposite this dargah, in the dargah of another *pir*, Saiyid Zain-ud-din.

[6] The Portuguese Company, says Gentil on another page (p. 60) consisted of sixty men and was commanded by Captain Dom Luis de Noronha. They were dressed " in French style " with scarlet coats and green facings.

[7] Dodwell (op. cit. p. 91) says that the revenues of these four circars were estimated as high as thirty one lakhs of rupees—with the old concessions they were supposed to make a total of twenty-one lakhs a year.

mountains served as ramparts, and there were only three passes: **Bezouara** (Bezwada) Bobbili and Gomser (Goomsoor).

The Nawab's perwanas having been despatched to Jafar Ali Khan, the deputy in the Circars, Bussy led an expedition against Ragotgi, in which Gentil took part. Our march, he says, was rapid, in spite of the bad roads and the rivers and passes which it was necessary to cross. On reaching the frontier, the country was found to have been delivered over to fire and sword. "We camped near villages which had been reduced to ashes: the inhabitants and all the domestic animals, who had alike been consumed by the flames, were scattered here and there: a sad and awful spectacle which it is impossible to paint." The army pressed on towards Nakpour (Nagpur): and encamped on April 1 under the walls of Ponar (Pauni) a ruined fortress sixteen coss away, on the banks of a river (Wainganga). On April 2 Gentil was sent with three guns and twenty five Frenchmen on a foraging expedition which was placed under the command of a captain who was at the head of two hundred sepoys and twenty five other Frenchmen. An engagement followed at a village fort which was captured and the village plundered: "a very easy task, since the women came up and made over their jewels, gold, silver, and all their possessions." Gentil declares that this little affair astonished Raghuji to such an extent that he sent an envoy to ask for a truce: and peace was concluded after eight days' negotiations. Raghuji agreed to pay for the cost of the war and his arrears of tribute: and also surrendered the jagirs which had been granted to him.

The next objective was Nermel (Nirmal) which will be found on the map in the Nizam's dominions to the north of the Godaveri in the district of Adilabad. The governor accepting the assurances of Bussy, attended the durbar whereupon he was arrested under the orders of the Nawab who had also promised him a safe conduct. After this transaction the army arrived on June 4 at Golconda, and the governor was imprisoned in the fort and subsequently poisoned.

Bussy now determined to visit his new possessions in the Northern Circars where difficulties had arisen: and says Gentil, "we left Ayéderabad on June 13". On June 26 a halt was made at Partéal (Purtiyal on the north-east frontier of the Nizam's Dominions) "where are the diamond mines." They were unworked. Formerly a daroga had been in charge of the mines: the largest diamonds belonged to the Emperor and the others to the contractor: but rascality was rife (il y avait bien de la friponnerie). On July 2 the camp was pitched on the banks of the Quischna (Kistna) near Bezouara (Bezwada) at the entrance of one of the passes. There Bussy was met by M. de Moracin, the Governor of Masulipatam, who had attempted to pacify the Rajah of Vizianagram, the principal zemindar, by making him naib of the two most northerly circars. On July 24 the force arrived at Rajahmundry for the winter—"a badly built town of about twelve thousand inhabitants with

narrow streets and neglected fortifications, but healthy and well supplied with provisions which are cheap ".

Bussy made his formal entry on August 21 under a series of triumphal arches: and nautches were given in his honour. " Much noise and little amusement ", comments Gentil, " nothing can be more tiresome than the song and the dance of the bayadères ". These festivities over, Bussy applied himself to the question of finance. All the rajahs, declares Gentil, readily made their submission : with the exception of the Rajah of Vizianagar (Vizianagram) " whom the Moors had been unable to subdue ". He was accordingly invited to attend a durbar of which the following account is given :

> He came at length with his army and camped at a distance of a league from our camp : and he was not permitted to offer his nuzzur until three days had elapsed. The whole army stood to arms upon the day on which he came to make his salam to M. de Bussy : and he made his way to the French General's durbar tent through a line of bayonets. The show of force filled him at first with alarm : but he recovered after he had heard what M. de Bussy had to say. He was the most powerful rajah of Orixa : of commanding height, with a very dark complexion, and about forty years of age. All his family were with him. He presented his nazar which consisted of a collar of pearls, an aigrette of diamonds, an elephant, two horses, and two purses of which the contents are unknown to me. The value of the whole may amount to thirty thousand rupees. At the end of eight days he took his leave when M. de Bussy gave him presents to the value of twenty thousand rupees.

The Rajah was left in possession of the circars of Rajahmundry and Chikakol " in farm ". The fruits of this alliance were seen in January 1757 when the Rajah, Viziaram Razu, with the assistance of Bussy, attacked the fort of Bobbili. The sequel is thus related in an inscription upon the pillar erected in 1891 by the late Maharajah of Bobbili (who died in May 1927) : " The then Rajah Ranga Rao, after fighting eight hours, finding it impossible to save his fort and preferring death to dishonour, first put to death the women and children in the Fort, and then, fighting, fell like another Leonidas with all his gallant band ". There was, however, a final tragedy to be enacted. Viziaram Razu was subsequently murdered by two of the Bobbili Rajah's Rajah's retainers.

Gentil makes no mention of this episode, which must be gathered from the pages of Orme. Bussy, having completed his settlement, returned to Hyderabad at the close of 1754 : but while he was still at Rajahmundry Gentil says that he made himself known to him and gained his confidence to such a degree that he was sent to Pondicherry on an important mission to M. Godeheu, the successor of Dupleix. He reached Pondicherry on February 15, 1755, " three days before the departure of M. Godeheu after conclud-

ing an eighteen months' truce with the English which was greatly to the disadvantage of the French, for we were well on the way to expel them entirely from the peninsula ".

Gentil who was now a lieutenant appears to have remained at Pondicherry until November 1756 when he rejoined Bussy on his return to the Northern Circars from Hyderabad. War had again broken out between the French and the English: but Bussy's first business was to deal with the zemindars who were refusing to pay revenue. Mention has already been made of the attack on Bobbili. A somewhat fruitless operation followed against the Rajah of Goomsoor, and Bussy then turned his attention to Vizagapatam, "the only settlement left to the English on the coast of Orixa". On June 14, 1757 he arrived in spite of the rains and the burning heat, within ten coss of that place. On the following day he advanced eight coss and sent a summons to William Percival, the English Governor, to surrender. Percival offered no resistance. Overawed by the placing of a battery on "a mountain of sand" which overlooked the Fort on the north west, he asked for terms. On June 26, these were arranged: the governor and council and the whole of the troops surrendered their arms, and the place was handed over to Bussy. Immediately after the capitulation Bussy received a letter from the wife of Robert Clive, written on June 26 on board the *Marlborough* in Bimlipatam roads. She asked for the return of five sailors of the ship who had gone on shore and had been made prisoner: and undertook that on her arrival in Bengal, Colonel Clive would release the same number of prisoners captured at Chandernagore. A French gentleman, observes Gentil, never refuses a lady unless his honour or his duty are at stake: and Bussy at once granted the request of Mrs Clive "with that French courtesy which is as charming in the letters as it is in the manners of the nation".[8]

Percival and the rest of the garrison were released on parole:[9] and signed another paper by which they admitted that they had several days before the arrival of Bussy embarked the whole of the treasure and merchandise of the company on board the *Marlborough*, and other ships which were on their way to Bengal.

Beyond some cannon and ammunition, therefore, Bussy secured little advantage from his prize. He returned to the Deccan early in 1758: and thereafter drops out of the pages of Gentil. We need only touch briefly upon his subsequent career. He died at Pondicherry on January 17, 1785 and lies buried in the cemetery opposite the Church of Notre Dame des Anges. The inscription on his tomb records that he was "lieutenant-général, commandant des troupes de terre et de mer de tous les établissemens français au delà du

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[8] There is no mention of this incident in Forrest's Life of Clive.

[9] "The English staff and members of the council withdrew to Bimlipatam, charmed at the courtesy of their conqueror and chagrined at the thought that their countrymen would not have acted in the same fashion, had the opportunity been theirs."—Gentil, p. 115.

cap de Bonne Espérance, gouverneur des établissemens français des Indes ".[10] After his capture at Wandiwash by Eyre Coote on January 22, 1760,[11] he was liberated in recognition of his generous treatment of English prisoners and made his way to France. In 1783 he returned to Pondichéry as Governor: but he was now in his sixty sixth year and the long interval of inaction and luxury had impaired his energies: moreover, with the signing of the treaty of Versailles in that year, all military operations had ceased. Orme who made his acquaintance in France, describes him as " the only man of distinguished capacity who served under Dupleix ", and observes that the conduct of Dupleix " to this officer showed that he knew the value of merit and was capable of employing it to the best advantage, for although M. Bussy had by his expedition to the northward acquired much reputation and a great fortune, he beheld his successes without the least envy and implicitly followed his advice in all affairs of which M. Bussy by his situation might be a better judge than himself."

Gentil, while summarizing the events of the years 1758 and 1759, gives no indication of his own personal movements. But he seems to have remained in the Northern Circars, for we learn incidentally from a footnote (p. 118) that he was among the five hundred Frenchmen taken prisoner with the Marquis de Conflans at the capture of Masulipatam by Colonel Francis Forde on April 8, 1759. At the same time he omits all mention of the defeat of Conflans at Condore on December 7, 1758: and yet if he was serving with the French forces in that region, he must have been present at that engagement, for Conflans retreated from Condore, which is slightly to the north of Rajahmundry, to Masulipatam. He is equally silent upon the momentous result of the capture of Masulipatam, which dealt a fatal blow at French ascendancy in the Deccan. Salabat Jang deserted his allies and agreed by treaty on May 12, 1759, not only to hand over the Northern Circars to the English, but also on no account to keep the French in his service or to call them to his assistance. The sole comment which Gentil permits himself is the following:

> Owing to absence from Pondichéry, we did not witness the misfortunes which befell the French on the coast of Coromandel and brought about the loss of all our settlements after the taking of Pondichéry in 1761. We shall therefore not attempt to describe in any detail the efforts made by the Comte de Lally to destroy the power of the English in India or the reverses sustained by our arms.

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[10] J. J. Cotton: Madras Monumental Inscriptions: p. 308.

[11] Bussy's horse was shot and he surrendered to an officer of the 79th (Draper's) Regiment. A curious account of the battle is given in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834 (p. 36): " The whole weight of the action fell upon the Europeans in either army: the sepoys merely looked on. After the conflict had been decided the native commanders highly complimented Colonel Coote upon so signal a victory, thanking him at the same time for the sight of a battle such as they had never before witnessed." Wandiwash (vandivasu) is 30 miles to the south-west of Chingleput in the North Arcot district.

After a lengthy excursus on the invasion of Upper India by Nadir Shah and a whole chapter on "the throne of the two peacocks" which need not detain us, he proceeds to a historical précis of the events in Bengal which led up to the recapture of Fort William by Watson and Clive. Our next glimpse of him is at the court of Kassem Ali Khan (Mir Kasim) who had been placed by Vansittart on the musnud of Moorshedabad in October 1760. He was then, he tells us, the friend and confidant of Gourgin Khan, the Armenian minister of Mir Kasim[12] to whom he had been recommended by M. Magoire[13] the governor of Patna, upon his departure for Europe. He was a witness of the difficulties created by Ellis and Amyat and was made acquainted with the letters written by Vansittart and Hastings, in their endeavours to promote peace.

Ellis having seized Patna, Gourgin Khan despatched a considerable force under the command of another Armenian, Markar, to the assistance of Mindi (Mehndi) Ali Khan, the Nawab's Governor. Patna was re-occupied and the English were forced to take refuge in their factory. But the factory proved untenable: and Ellis withdrew during the night, to fall into the hands of Sommer a German,[14] who was in command of four or five thousand sepoys at Bakchar (Buxar) and who had been re-called by Gourgin Khan to Mounguer (Monghyr) where the prisoners were conducted to the number of 200 soldiers and forty officers and factors. The soldiers were placed in various localities under the charge of fogedars (faujdars) and the remainder were taken to Patna. Gentil (whose narrative is being summarized) declares that he brought it to the notice of Gourgin Khan that an Armenian who was deputed to escort them had robbed them of all their effects, and that orders were thereupon given that their wearing apparel and jewellery should be returned, but that their papers and correspondence should be retained. Gentil proceeds to

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[12] Gurgin Khan, or Khwaja Gregory, is said to have been born in Isfahan and to have started life as a clothseller. He gained the favour of Mir Kasim by his skill in the manufacture of guns and cannons: and opened a factory at Monghyr, when the Nawab transferred his capital there from Moorshedabad. His brother Khwaja Patroos remained in the service of the English Company and was on terms of friendship with Vansittart and Hastings at Calcutta. As will be seen later, the downfall and death of Gurgin Khan were due to the Nawab's belief that the two brothers were in secret communication and, were planning to arrest him.

[13] The name sounds very like Maguire. Probably of Irish descent, like Lally whose father Gerard O'Lally was a captain in Dillon's regiment in the Irish Brigade.

[14] Sommer is Gentil's name for Walter Reinhardt, whom Sir George Forrest in his *Life of Clive* persistently miscalls "Remardt" (See index and *passim*). The same strange spelling occurs in his "History of the Indian Mutiny" (Volume III, p. 391). It is remarked there in a footnote that "the real name of this adventurer is uncertain," but no authority is given for the unusual form preferred. Mountstuart Elphinstone (*Rise of the British Power in the East*) says that Reinhardt was originally a carpenter and subsequently a serjeant in the French army. Broome (*History of the Bengal Army*) describes him as a butcher, born and brought up at Strasbourg, who came out to India in the Swiss Company attached to the Bombay European Regiment. It will be seen later that Gentil makes him the executioner of the Jagat Seth brothers as well as of Ellis and his companions at Patna. The term "Sommer" is of course an attempt to reproduce Sumroo, the orientalized rendering of his nickname Sombre which he owed to his swarthy complexion.

relate the flight of Amyat and his murder in his budgerow off Moxoudabad (Moorshedabad) and the capture of his colleague.

" The English, taken unawares, compelled their French prisoners to take service" in the detachment commanded by Major Adams which promptly marched on Moorshedabad and captured it. Mir Jaffir was replaced on the musnud: and Kassem-Ali Khan abandoning Monghyr, sênt his best troops to Radjemahal (Rajmahal) on the banks of the Ganges to bar the progress of Adams who arrived at the height of the rains.

Madec, a captured French sergeant who was serving against his will with the English made his way by a roundabout route to a Mogul outpost and by throwing it into confusion opened the road to an attack upon the entrenchments where Sommer's guns and infantry were posted. Madec threw himself upon the entrenchments which were carried with little resistance. Sommer was the first to retreat and reach the Nawab's camp, and was followed by the whole of his army. Major Adams thereupon seized the artillery and the abandoned ammunition and stores and made himself master of Rajmahal.

Such, observes Gentil with the utmost naiveté, is the story of the battle of Udwanala as I received it from Madec and Sommer (Sombre). Hence, he proceeds, it is to the valour of the French troops that the English owe the possession of Bengal: and their claim is based upon the cruellest injustice, inasmuch as they exploited the misfortune of their French prisoners in order to obtain service from them which are alike reprobated by honour and by the law of nations.[15]

The next subject which occupies his pen is the murder of the Djagatsets (Jagat Seths) and the assassination of Gurgin Khan. Proof was found in the letters of Ellis that the Jagat Seth brothers had instigated the war and had undertaken to defray the entire cost. They had already been brought from Moorshedabad to Monghyr where a fine house was built for them, to which a magnificent garden was attached. Upon their arrival they offered the Nawab a hundi for 25 lakhs of rupees: which he refused. They were put into irons, as traitors who had broken their oath to confine their activities to their banking operations. After the capture of Rajmahal Kassim-Ali notified Major Adams that if he continued his pursuit he would order the execution of all his English prisoners. The reply of Adams was to proceed: and the Nawab retreated to Monghyr and thence to Patna with his treasure and baggage.

On the way to Patna the Jagat Seth brothers begged Gentil to persuade Gurgin Khan to intercede on their behalf with the Nawab. But Gurgin

[15] In a " Continuation of the Account of the Troubles in Bengal from the 28th July to the 28th September 1763 " which Sir George Forrest reproduces from the Powis Manuscripts in his Life of Clive (Volume II, p. 239) it is said: " Having established three Batteries near the River Side, the nearest being about 350 yards from the Enemy's works he (Major Adams) did them considerable damage by the fire of six twenty Pounders and having by this Means drawn the Enemy's Attention entirely towards the Left on the 5th of September before Daybreak he attack'd the Hill upon their Right which was carried with a little loss by the Grenadiers of the Army *and the French Company.*"

counselled him not to persist in the demand, not only because success was out of the question but also because he would thereby become involved in their disgrace. As the march proceeded the enemies of Gurgin (whose brother was a prisoner in the English camp) induced the Nawab to believe that his minister was betraying him. His ruin now became only a matter of time. Gurgin was well aware of these intrigues. "Je campais toujours près de ce ministre", says Gentil, "et je mangeais avec lui". (My tent was always pitched close to his, and I had a seat at his table). One day Gentil came in late for dinner and proceeded to taste the various dishes which were brought every day from the Nawab's table.[16] Gurgin on entering the tent, called upon him to stop. "What are you doing? Do you not know that you may be poisoned? Why be so imprudent, when you know all that is being said about my brother and myself? I have enemies. Be on your guard against every one." He then had the dishes taken away and replaced by others prepared by his own cooks.

Half way on the road between Monghyr and Patna, an attempt was made to assassinate Gurgin. But Gentil had caused his bed to be placed outside his friend's tent, on account of the great heat, and close to the guard, and the assassins put off their enterprise until the following day when it was successfully accomplished.[17]

Kasim Ali's next victims were the Jagat Seth brothers. Gentil writes:

> Arriving at the Durbar at nightfall, I found the nabab alone with his *arezbegui* (presenter of pétitions) who was laying before him a prayer from these unhappy men for their pardon, in return for four crore of rupees. The prince turned to me and said: "You hear what is being proposed to me. If my chiefs were to hear it, they would at once release them and hand me over to them." He ordered the *arezbegui* to remain where he was and sent for Sommer who came a quarter of an hour later. The nabab made him acquainted with the proposals of the Seths and ordered him to put them to death at once. At the same time he forbad those who were in the tent to leave his presence until Sommer returned and informed him that the execution had been carried out. He shot them with a pistol in spite of their request that they might be beheaded.[18]

The murder was not long in following of the English prisoners at Patna who were now transferred from the charge of Mehndi-Ali-Khan to that of

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[16] "The Governors of Bengal employed 500 porters to distribute to chosen persons the dishes from their kitchen, in camp as well as in the town".—Gentil (footnote, p. 218).

[17] A translation by Mr. C. A. Oldham of Gentil's account of the murder of Gurgin was published in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1925 (Volume XXIX, pp. 219-222). I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Oldham for the loan of his copy of Gentil's Memoires, which has made it possible for me to prepare this paper.

[18] Vansittart in his Narrative says that the bodies of the Seths were exposed under a guard of sepoys, to beasts and birds of prey, that they might not be burned, according to the rites of their religion, being "Gentoos."

Sombre. According to Gentil, Mir Kasim sent for him. He found him alone and was asked to take his seat on "a little pillow close to his massenaud" (musnud): whereupon the Nawab observed: "I wrote to Major Adams that if he proceeded beyond Radjemahal, I would put to death all the English prisoners whom I hold in custody, and I swore to it on the Koran. He has made light of my threats, because since then he had captured Mounguer (Monghyr) and marched beyond it. Should I not keep my oath? If they take me, they will assuredly put me to death. Therefore I shall forestall them. What do you advise? Are you not of my opinion?" Gentil remained silent, hoping thereby to express the indignation which he was feeling more forcibly than by argument. But Mir Kasim pressing him to speak freely, he replied by means of an oration of which it is sufficient to give the gist. "It would be a horror," he said, "which has had no parallel in Hindostan, whether among the Mussulmans or the idolators." But, rejoined the Nawab, "if I fell into the hands of the English, they would not spare my life." Not so, declared Gentil, "you would be treated like your father-in-law (Mir Jafir); in removing you from your office, they will give you sufficient means to maintain your station in life." It was further impressed upon the Nawab that it would be to his interest to send two of the prisoners to conduct a parley and open negotiations for peace.

At this moment Sommer arrived and Kasim Ali called to him to sit near him. He then invited Gentil to retire, informing him, in a tone which indicated displeasure, that his presence would not be required at the council that evening. "Scarcely had I left the prince's tent when Sommer rose, made his salutation, and went to make the preparation for the murder of the English." A French sergeant of sepoys, of the name of Chateau, refused to obey the orders for the execution which Sommer gave him, saying: "As a Frenchman I am the enemy of the English, but I am not their murderer, and I shall take no part in this horror." He was placed under a strong guard, and Sommer himself supervised the massacre[19].

Among the officers who perished were two Swiss for whose lives Gentil says he had asked, while at Monghyr. The intrigues against Gurgin Khan prevented the minister from interceding on their behalf, for fear that his action might be utilized as a fresh charge. Gentil consoles himself with the thought that he had used every endeavour to prevent the murder, but declares that the hatred of the Nawab towards Ellis whose insults he never forgot, drove him to the crime. "I lose my government," he would say to Gentil, "but I have at any rate this compensation that my enemies will derive no satisfaction from my fall for I shall first of all put them all to death."

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[19] A manuscript is preserved at the India office, entitled "List of persons killed in the massacre at Patna and at other places during the troubles, 1763." It is signed "John Graham, Secretary, Fort William, 20 Feb. 1764." According to the inscription on the monument in Patna city, which was erected many years after the event and omits a number of the names, the murders were committed "on the nights of the 5th or 6th and 11th of October, 1763."

Gentil claims to have saved the lives of five Englishmen and one German. Three of the Englishmen were brought in by a fogedar (faujdar) as he puts it, *after* the massacre and *before* the departure of the Nawab for Patna. He informed the Nawab that they were Frenchmen: and upon the fact being questioned by a member of the durbar, who entered into the service of the English at a later date, the Nawab replied that he accepted the statement of Gentil and handed the prisoners over to him on condition that they were enrolled in the artillery. Subsequently upon being informed that they were in bad health, he permitted them to be handed over to M. Bacharach, the chief of the Dutch factory.

The other three Europeans were brought in chains to Monghyr. One was named Dalson, and another was an English surgeon, " born at Lisbon ": the third was a German. Once again Gentil represented that the men were French and obtained their release through Gurgin Khan. He procured a boat for them and sent them down to Calcutta. Later on, when Gentil was sent to the camp of General Carnac to discuss terms of peace on behalf of Shuja-ud-Daula, the surgeon was presented to him. Dalson, he says, died from a fall at Calcutta shortly after his arrival[20].

After the massacre of the English, Mir Kasim left Patna and joined forces with Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh who was encamped with the Emperor Shah Alam the second near the river Jumna, and was engaged in operations against the Rajah of Bundelcund.

Gentil appears at this stage to have changed masters for he was present at the battle of Buxar on October 23, 1764, in the capacity of aide-de-camp to Shuja-ud-Daula. He paints a lively picture of the incident which converted the Nawab's victory into defeat:

> After an obstinate struggle, the English were completely defeated and lost their ammunition, their commissariat, their baggage and their treasure-chest. Monro in despair sent orders to his vessels to approach the field of battle as speedily as possible, as the English army had no other line of retreat than the river. While these orders were being exe-

[20] It has not been possible to trace the individuals mentioned by Gentil. Capt. John Williams in his *History of the Bengal Infantry* (1817: pp. 127-128) says that five persons survived the massacre at Patna: Dr. William Fullarton " who had some friends at court " and " four British sergeants " Davis, Douglas, Speedy, " and another whose name I cannot now recollect." Dr. Fullarton may be Gentil's " surgeon." The four sergeants were " selected from the other prisoners " and sent to the Nawab of Purnea, who refused to put them to death. Mir Kasim thereupon ordered them to be sent to Patna and they were put on " a patella boat " (Hind *patela*), in charge of a jamadar and twelve barkandazes. They overpowered the guard opposite " Sickra Gulley " and joined Major Adams at Udwanala. Peter Davis was commissioned as ensign in 1776 and was promoted to Captain in 1781: he died at Buxar on March 24, 1788, at the age of 51. Douglas and Speedy were posted to the European battalion: the former was killed in action against the Sannyasis in the Rangpur district in 1773, and the latter, who had come up from Madras with Major Kilpatrick in 1756, died in 1767. The fourth became sergeant-major to Capt. Scotland's battalion " which was ordered to be raised at Midnapore," and died there in 1765.

cuted the Mogul army began to pillage the English camp. Monro as a last effort threw himself upon the detachment of Binibadour[21] who immediately took to flight carrying with them a portion of the Mogul army loaded with plunder. Monro thus became master of the field of battle from which he had been on the point of retreating. The valiant Choudja-Kouli-Khan (Shuja Quli Khan) seeing that the rout was general, charged the English battalions with four companions who like himself disdained to survive the defeat of their master.[22]

The immediate consequence of the battle of Buxar, as Gentil admits, was that Shah Alam who fled to Benares, came over to the English. Shuja-ud-Daula withdrew first to Eléabad (Allahabad) and then to Benares: but "finding that the Mogols were planning to hand him over to the English," retreated to Lucknow and subsequently to Furrokhabad, whence he sent Gentil to the English camp to conduct negotiations.

Carnac had taken over command from Munro on February 13, 1764 and was pushing forward into Oudh. He occupied Fyzabad and made his headquarters in the Nawab's palace, where he held durbars. Of all this Gentil lets fall no hint. He remarks merely that he was accompanied by Najaf Khan, the Emperor's Amir-ul-Umara whom the English had installed at Korah and who had been taken prisoner by the Marathas under Mulhar Rao Holkar whom the Nawab had called to his aid.[23] Carnac was suspicious of the good faith of Najaf Khan, and Gentil takes credit to himself for persuading the general to take him back into favour. But nothing further was done (rien ne fut conclu). The real stumbling block, although Gentil does not say so, was the refusal of the Nawab to surrender Mir Kasim and Sumroo. The utmost to which Shuja-ud-daula would agree was that two or three British officers who knew Sumroo should be sent to his camp, and that he would then have Sumroo murdered in their presence.[24]

Gentil remained with Carnac, while the army advanced towards Korah. At Akbarpur the rearguard was attacked by the Marathas. Najaf Khan, says Gentil, ran up and forced them to surrender the baggage which they had seized. He would have us also believe that in spite of this reverse, the Marathas "continued to harass the army to such an extent that it was reduced to the last extremity" and Carnac became so seriously alarmed that he (Gentil) judged

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[21] Gentil asserts that Beni Bahadur the lieutenant of Shuja-ud-Daula, out of jealousy of "an officer whose influence upon his master was great," persuaded him not to recapture Patna.

[22] For an authoritative account of the battle of Buxar, see the paper by Mr. C. A. Oldham in the issue of the March 1926 of the Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society. As a result of the researches of Mr. Oldham, the tombs of Shuja Quli Khan and Saujid Ghulam Qadir, another of the Nawab Wazir's generals have been discovered and are now under the care of the Public Works Department.

[23] Najaf Khan died in 1782 after ruling Shah Alam for many years.

[24] Forrest, Life of Clive, Vol. II, p. 273. Sumroo left the Nawab's camp with his battalions of sepoys and a body of Europeans, and entered the service of the Jat Rajah, the ancestor of the present Maharajah of Bhurtpore.

the moment to be opportune to counsel a speedy conclusion of peace. He adds that it was upon his suggestion that the Nawab was invited to visit the British camp. The more generally accepted account is that the British advanced guard engaged in the skirmish of which he makes so much, that a few rounds from the British guns put the Marathas to flight, that Carnac continued to advance and encamped opposite Kalpi, on May 20, that the Marathas under Mulhar Rao Holkar were again defeated and retreated towards Gwalior and that, the English having returned to Allahabad, the Nawab, who now perceived that his cause was hopeless, resolved to proceed to the British camp.

Gentil's story is that after his interview with Carnac, he sent two couriers with a letter to the Nawab, who " replied immediately bestowing upon me the titles of Rafioudoulah, Nazim Jang, Bahadoor, and Tadbir-oul-Moulouk." On the return of the couriers, Captain Swinton, Carnac's aide-de-camp, arrested them and seized their despatches, which he handed to Carnac, saying that Gentil had been corresponding with the Wazir and it was necessary to see what he was writing. The general sent for Gentil and handed over the letters unopened.

Shuja-ud-Daulah duly made his appearance: and Carnac was so overjoyed that he embraced both Gentil and the Nawab. The day following, Clive arrived: and Gentil recounts an incident which, he says, illustrates the strict probity of Carnac. Shuja-ud-Daula, while Clive was still on his way, offered Carnac five lakhs of rupees. The " virtuous general " refused the gift in Gentil's presence, saying that it was his duty to set an example to the officers whom he had the honour to command. Gentil observes that he is in a position to cite other instances of Carnac's disinterested and upright character. But the fact remains that, just about this time, Carnac accepted a present of Rs. 80,000 from the Rajah of Benares and on that account declined to execute the covenant against receiving gifts from the " country powers " which Clive had been ordered by the Directors to obtain from their servants, unless the date was altered. He was also offered two lakhs by Shah Alam: and in this case he refused to accept the money without the sanction of the Governor and Council at Fort William who referred the matter to the Court of Directors with a strong recommendation from Clive in his favour.[25]

Peace was signed at Allahabad on August 16, 1765. Gentil gives both the text of the treaty and of the firman issued in consequence of it by Shah Alam. He makes a grievance of the cession of Korah and a portion of the district of Allahabad to the Emperor, in spite of the fact that this is expressly provided for by the fourth clause of the treaty.[26] Some comments follow upon the alleged ill-usage of Shah Alam, who took up his residence in " the palace

[25] Forrest, Life of Clive, Vol. II, p. 283. Carnac also received nearly £33,000 on the accession of Najm-ud-Daula, the son of Mir Jaffir, in 1765: and bought two manors in Hampshire and a seat in Parliament on his return to England with Clive in 1767.

[26] On a later page, Gentil mentions the visit of Hastings to Benares, in 1773, when the provinces were restored " on payment of 12 million francs " (50 lakhs).

built by Akbar" at Allahabad: and Brigadier (Richard) Smith is named as the culprit, his offence, among others, being that he prohibited the playing of music in the early morning, because it disturbed his rest. The result, says Gentil, of these affronts was that at the end of two years Shah Alam took up his residence "on the banks of the Gemna (Jumna) near Delhi."

Gentil's interest in Mir Kasim has so far evaporated that he refers in the most casual manner to his fate after the conclusion of the treaty of Allahabad. He mentions merely that he sought refuge with the Rohillas and then successively in the territory of the Rajah of God (Gohad) and in Marwar: although he must have known that his former master, after his many wanderings, eventually died in the utmost poverty at Delhi in June 1777.

Continuing his narrative Gentil says that the Nawab was so satisfied with the services he had rendered in connexion with the negotiations with General Carnac that he revised the bad opinion which he had been led to entertain on the subject of the French nation. "I spoke the Hindoustan [*sic*] sufficiently well to be able to dispense with an interpreter, and my thoughts were thus conveyed just as the prince desired; and in manifesting to me the pleasure he felt at having a Frenchman at his court with whom he could converse in his own language, he put questions to me which made it clear that he was anxious to entertain a force of four hundred Frenchmen in his service." It was not possible at the time to carry the project through: but "fortune so far smiled upon me that I was enabled to come to the assistance of two hundred of my countrymen who had been forced to join the English forces and contribute to the overthrow of Mir Kasim." Happening to be at Allahabad with Mehndi Ali Khan, the former governor of Patna, he came to learn of the arrival on the opposite bank of the Jumna of a number of English deserters who were said to be Frenchmen. Finding the information to be correct he obtained the permission of the governor to allow them to pass. Réné Madec, the sergeant-major, came to see him and was presented to Shuja-ud-Daula; who ordered the governor of Allahabad to conform to the wishes of Gentil in every particular. The men, who numbered six hundred [*sic*] set out for Fyzabad and arrived after three days' march in the presence of the Nawab, who took them into his service. Their pay, including that of the principal officers, amounted to Rs. 20,000 a month.

After a description of one of the Nawab's hunting expeditions, Gentil recurs to the misdeeds of General Smith, "whose character was as fiery as it was shady" (aussi bouillant qu'ombrageux). General Smith, he says, began to be uneasy at the good relations which existed between the Emperor Shah Alam and the Nawab Wazir, and wrote to the Council at Calcutta in a sense adverse to the Nawab.

> Being aware of these manoeuvres I wrote to a friend in the English army that if war was made on Choudja-a-ed-Doulah, that prince would

proceed to Calcutta and place himself and his family in the hands of the Council, with a view of obtaining justice from the King of England. My friend sent a letter to M. Werelst (Harry Verelst) the governor, a man known for his humanity and honesty who communicated it to the Council: and two members of the Council were sent to Choudja-a-ed-Doulah to ascertain the facts. General Smith who was with them assured them that the Nawab would meet them at the head of his infantry and artillery which had been disciplined and organised by me. But when they arrived at Benares the Indian prince came to receive them without an escort. MM. Roussel (Claud Russell) and Cartier opened their eyes and were persuaded that the charges were calumnies. A new treaty was concluded and the number of the nabab-vézyr's troops was fixed at ten thousand cavalry and twenty-five thousand infantry.

The conference, says Gentil in a footnote, took place in November 1768. General Smith is the famous Richard Smith who figured in London a few years later as the typical Anglo-Indian nabob.[27] "As a result of this mission which destroyed all his means of amassing a fortune," Smith, according to Gentil, proceeded to formulate complaints against him in Europe, and the Court of Directors in consequence endeavoured to remove the "French Resident" as he styled himself, from the service of the Nawab. There are several letters in the fourth volume of the Persian Correspondence published by the Imperial Record Department of the Government of India, which bear upon the efforts made from Calcutta to dislodge Gentil. The first (No. 30) is dated May 13, 1772, a month after Warren Hastings succeeded John Cartier as Governor, and is thus summarized:

To Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah.

The writer has been specially asked (in the letters that have lately arrived from the Court of Directors) to maintain the most cordial relations with the Nawab and to endeavour to promote mutual sentiments of friendship. The welfare of the Company is interlinked with his. Now it so happens that there is a Frenchman, Jean Gentil, in his service. This man, the Court of Directors has discovered, is a secret agent of the French Company. And the French and English are not on the best of terms. As the English Company regard the Nawab's enemies as their own it is

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[27] He was elected M. P. for Hindon, Wilts, in 1774; but was unseated for brazen corruption and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, in addition to a fine of £666. Later on he took the lead in the Parliamentary proceedings against Hastings and Impey. It is generally supposed that he was the original of Sir Matthew Mite in Samuel Foote's play "The Nabob." William Hickey (Vol. I., p. 234) met Smith at St. Helena in February 1770, when he was on his way to Europe in the *Hampshire* Indiaman, and has much to say about his low origin. The date of his death is uncertain: but Dr. Holzman, in his "Nabobs in England" quotes a statement by Thomas Faulkner, the historian of Brentford (1845) that he wrote the inscription on the tomb of Robert Orme, who died in 1801.

expected that he will reciprocate the sentiment. General Barker[25] has instructions to speak to him on this subject.

The second letter (No. 54) is dated July 14, 1772.

To Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah.

The writer has received the Nawab's letter stating that the proposal made to him to dismiss Mons. Gentil will receive proper consideration . . . From a letter received from General Barker it appears that the Nawab really intends to dismiss Mons. Gentil from his service. Is very pleased at this mark of his friendship for the Company.

Eighteen months elapse and in spite of Hastings' visit to Benares in August 1773 the "intention" of the Nawab to dismiss Gentil remains an "intention" and nothing more. On April 23, 1774 a further remonstrance (No. 982) is addressed to him by Hastings:

To Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula.

The writer has already represented that it is inconsistent with the friendship existing between the Company and the Nawab that he should engage Frenchmen in his service, as these people are the determined enemies of the English. Though a peace is at times patched up between the English and the French, the latter are always actuated by a feeling of jealousy, and are waiting for an opportunity to eject the former from Hindostan. In order to accomplish this object, they are scattered all over Hindostan and some of them have ingratiated themselves with the rulers of the Deccan by raising their hopes of getting military assistance from their country against their enemies. The enemies of the English are in secret correspondence with their chiefs at Chandernagore and Pondicherry. On the Company's expressing displeasure at the Nawab's employing in his service a Frenchman, M. Gentil, the Nawab promised to dismiss him. The word of a Ruling Prince should be as irrevocable as the decrees of Heaven. It is strange that the Nawab is reported to have engaged a French deserter named Madec in his service. To harbour such mean and contemptible persons reflects discredit on the Nawab. Hopes the Nawab will dismiss the Frenchmen from his service. Refers him to Mr. Middleton for particulars.

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[25] Sir Robert Barker was Commander-in-chief at the time. He had gone up to Fyzabad in connexion with the treaty against the Mahrattas which was concluded between the Nawab and the Rohillas in May 1772. To celebrate the event, Tilly Kettle, who was then at Fyzabad, was employed by him to paint a large picture in which portraits are introduced of Shuja-ud-Daula and his four sons, and of Barker himself with two aides-de-camp and Lieut. William Davy, the Persian interpreter. The picture is fully described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1786, and is reproduced in the late Mr. J. D. Milner's monograph on Kettle (Walpole Society, 1927). It was placed by Barker in his house near Godalming, Busbridge Park, and is now in the possession of a London dealer. Barker returned to Europe in June 1774, and died at Busbridge in 1789.

The reply of the Nawab (No. 1073) is dated June 1, 1774.

From Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah.

In compliance with the Governor's request has dismissed Mons. Madec and Mons. Gentil. The former was appointed by him to look into the management of Bundelkhand while the latter has been in his service for eight or nine years. Was loth to lose the services of Mons. Gentil but could not go against the Governor's wishes.

A copy of the parwana issued to Gentil is attached. It is dated 9 Rabi'ul (May 14, 1774):

Is unable to retain him in his service because it is not agreeable to the English chiefs. He is therefore dismissed. He is at liberty to go wherever he pleases. Sends him a month's allowance due to him from his government.

Gentil makes absolutely no mention either of the issue or the receipt of this parwana. But the Nawab's letter was evidently accepted by Hastings as a genuine document, for his final letter (No. 1125) which is dated June 28, 1774, is in the following terms:

To Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah.

The writer is glad to hear that the Nawab has dismissed the Frenchmen Madec and Gentil from his service at the writer's request. The Nawab's prompt compliance with the request is an unmistakeable proof of his sincere friendship with the English. Will write to the Court of Directors with a view of removing the suspicion that had been created in their minds by designing persons regarding the Nawab's relations with the Company.

Gentil's own account of the transaction is altogether at variance with these documents.

La compagnie anglaise écrivit de Londres au gouvernement général de Bengale pour demander au vézyr mon renvoi, à quelque prix que ce fût. C'était leur expression. Mais ce prince trouva toujours moyen d'éluder leurs demandes. Lassé un jour de leur importunité, il leur repondit: " J'ai de grandes obligations à M. Gentil: sans lui je ne vous aurais point connu: je n'aurais point fait de paix avec vous: il m'est trop attaché, et je serais fâché de le perdre. Voilà pourquoi je prends à mon service des Français. Si je refusais les siens, il me quitterait: aussi je préférerais plutôt rompre avec vous que de le renvoyer."

[The English Company wrote from London to the Supreme Government of Bengal to demand my dismissal from the Wazir, at whatsoever cost. That was their expression. But the prince always found some means of evading the

demand. Fatigued at length by their importunity, he replied: "I am under great obligations to M. Gentil: without him I should never have known the English, I should never have made peace with them: he is devotedly attached to me, and I should be sorry to lose him. That is why I receive Frenchmen in my service: if I refused to take his countrymen, he would leave me: and I would rather break with the English than send him away."]

There is no trace of any such letter in the Persian Correspondence and it is extremely unlikely that the Nawab would have ventured to address Hastings in such language. But Gentil affirms positively that so far from dismissing him, Shuja-ud-Daulah raised his yearly allowance from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 32,000: and that he was in his service at the time of his death on January 26, 1775. Upon the Nawab's return to Fyzabad from a visit to Bisauli in June 1774, he went to see him and finding he was ill, "after several consultations, persuaded him to place himself in the hands of M. Visage, a French medical practitioner" Visage, according to Gentil, would infallibly have restored him to health but he was induced by his women and his relatives to accept treatment from Indian hakims with the result that he died within fifteen days. He left, we are told 52 children by more than a hundred wives.

Three days after his death, Gentil called upon his son and successor, Asaf-ud-daula and was assured by him that he would pay the English ten lakhs of rupees rather than allow him to depart. Eight days later, however, he informed him through his minister that he could not remain at his court, as Hastings had threatened to place one of his brothers on the throne, if he did not accede to their peremptory demand.

The letter of dismissal was dated February 17, 1775, and, ten days later Gentil left Fyzabad with his wife, Theresa Velho, his mother-in-law, and his children and proceeded towards Chandernagore.[29] He complains that he was dismissed without payment of a year's allowance amounting to 80,000 francs, which were due to him: and that Hastings promised to reimburse him, but was unable to keep his word. At Patna he received an offer from the Emperor to join him at his Court with an allowance of forty thousand rupees. It may be questioned whether Shah Alam was in a position at the time either to offend Hastings or to pay any such sum: but, says Gentil, "the Emperor was turning his eyes towards France, in the belief that a French alliance would rid him of the tutelage of his rebel subjects and the English." Gentil, however, had the good sense to decline the offer—if indeed it was ever seriously made.

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[29] Madec, who was at the time in the service of the Rana of Gohad, did not leave for Pondicherry until May 22, 1777. He was taken prisoner at the capture of that place in December 1778 and was released on parole, proceeding to France by way of the Mauritius. His death took place at his native place, Quimper in Brittany, on June 17, 1784, at the age of forty-eight. The inscription on his tomb records that he was "Nabab en Asie."

That Gentil was actively engaged in intrigues against the English at Fyzabad, is shown by the terms of the dedication of the "Historical Summary of Hindostan or the Mogul Empire" which he presented to Louis XVI when he was received by him in private audience in the month of June, 1778:[30]

> Sire—Attached since 1751 to the service in Hindostan of Your august grand-father and of Your Majesty, I have kept the Grand Vézyr of that Empire acquainted with the news of the late reign and of Your happy accession to the throne.
>
> The prince, astonished at first, admired with satisfaction the moderation exhibited by Your illustrious predecessor towards the enemies of France whom he so gloriously vanquished. Then, touched, may I not say enchanted, at the wide renown obtained by the goodwill and wisdom manifested by You upon taking the reins of government, he raised his hands to Heaven and said: Soon may we hope for the end of the misfortunes of Hindostan. This joy has spread to all the people of India. Their sole hope is in Your Majesty.
>
> Chah-Alem II, their Emperor, who reigns to-day over naught but the ruins of Delhi, his capital, bespeaks your aid. "Tymour," he cries, "the first of my race, after the victory which he gained over Bajazet at Ancyra, released all the Frenchmen whom he found prisoners in the Turkish Sultan's camp.[31] I am under the yoke." At the sound of his voice, his people, Sire, extend their arms to You as to their future deliverer. Through the ages Your ancestors have been the protectors of oppressed kings: wherefore should You not be the protector of the kings of Hindostan? Does not the Sun shed its warmth over all countries?
>
> I neglected in no particular, Sire, to attach the Indians to the French nation. They consider that nation as the first among all nations: they love it and long for it. In spite of the situation to which it has been reduced by the loss of its settlements, they look upon it as the nation which will one day break their chains.
>
> It is because of these feelings and with the intention of bringing upon them the favour of Your Majesty, that I take, Sire, the respectful liberty of offering to You a historical summary of their Empire, emboldened thereto by the reception which You gave to my labours in regard to the numismatic history of Hindostan.[32]
>
> Happy shall I be if I succeed in making known to Your Majesty this good and unhappy people oppressed by the English power, and to arouse the compassion and the goodwill of the greatest King on earth.

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[30] Mémoires: Appendix C: pp. 419-420.

[31] Gentil is referring to the battle of Angara (1402 A. D.). Gibbon has nothing to say about "the French prisoners": but he mentions that Bajazet's army included "twenty thousand cuirassiers of Europe, clad in black and impenetrable armour".

[32] *Histoire numismatique de l'Inde*: with illustrations of all the gold and silver coins in circulation: 1 Vol. 4to.

During my youth, I served in Your armies in Hindostan: at a more advanced age I resided for twelve years at the Court of the Grand Vézyr of the Empire, with the approval of Your ministers and occupied exclusively with politics, administration and literature. My prayers now, Sire, will always be to finish the remainder of my days near Your Majesty and to crown my labours thereby.

Most of this address, it will be observed, is pure rhodomontade, but there can be no mistaking the sentiments of thé writer.

Gentil had already received the Cross of Saint-Louis in 1771 and was appointed on his return to France to the rank of Colonel of infantry. His presents to the King comprised a history of Hindustan and a Geography, both of which were deposited in the royal library at Paris[33] and also the sword of Shuja-ud-Daula and a portrait of the Nawab with seven of his children. Both the sword and the painting have disappeared. The King placed them in his private study at Versailles: but they were "removed at the time of the calamity which overtook the royal family" in 1792. It is interesting, however, to note that a portrait of Shuja-ud-Daula and his son and successor, Asaf-ud-Daula, may still be seen in the Musée at Versailles. The canvas is signed by Tilly Kettle, who came to Fyzabad in 1771, and is dated 1772. That it was at one time in the possession of Gentil is made abundantly clear by him: for he tells the story at some length of how it was presented to him by the Nawab.

Ten years after Gentil's return to France three envoys from Tippoo Sultan arrived at the Court of Louis XVI and were received with much ceremonial at Versailles on August 10, 1788. The whole of the fifth chapter of the Mémoires is devoted to an account of the reception at which Gentil seems to have been present and the full text is given of the florid address read by the principal envoy, Muhammad Dervich Khan, and the perfunctory reply made by Louis. Tippoo was so incensed by the failure of the mission that he ordered two junior envoys, Akbar Ali and Muhammad Osman, to be put to death on their return.

Considerations of space must likewise forbid reproduction of the interesting biography which Gentil gives of Juliana D'Acosta, a remarkable lady whom he includes among his "celebrated Women of Hindostan." She was connected with the family of Gentil's wife, Theresa Velho, whom he married at Fyzabad in 1772. From 1687 until her death in 1732 she was a prominent

[33] In Appendix D of the Mémoires particulars are given of the manuscripts presented by Gentil to the Royal Library at Paris. These comprise "the Fetwa Alemguire, the Ain Akbari, the Terkarat-Assalatin, the Tavarik Ferichta and the Oupnchat, extracts from the four Vedas." Other gifts included paintings and drawings of the civil and military costumes of "the Mahometans and the Pagans, of emperors, princes and nobles and of their processions, camps, combats, festivals, hunting expeditions, gardens and seraglios." Three Indian artists, we are told, were employed for the purpose by Gentil for ten years. His observations on natural history were placed at the disposal of Buffon, who "considered them to be sufficiently important to be incorporated in his immortal works."

figure at the Mogul court and according to Gentil was known as "the oracle of the Emperor" and was the custodian of the Imperial crown. An excellent portrait of "Donna Juliana" is to be found in Valentijn (Vol. IV, part II, p. 269).

In summing up Gentil's career in India, his son (the editor of the Mémoires lays special stress upon his efforts to prevent Mir Kasim from ordering the massacre of his two hundred and forty prisoners and upon the success with which he conducted the negotiations on behalf of Shuja-ud-Daula, which culminated in the treaty of Allahabad. The Directors of the English Company "grew jealous of the credit he thereby gained and did not cease from their persecution of him until they forced him to leave India." Although Hastings was "their instrument," Gentil came forward in his defence at the time of his impeachment and published several letters in the *Journal de Bruxelles* and the *Mercure de France*.

Gentil died in his native town of Bagnols on February 15, 1799, in his seventy-third year. The outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 deprived him of his colonel's pension "which was almost his sole means of livelihood." He is said to have brought little wealth with him from India. We are assured in a footnote (p. 273) that the greater part of the allowance paid to him by Shuja-ud-Daula, and of the presents received (which amounted in themselves to more than Rs. 20,000 a year) was spent in the relief of French refugees; and that Father Xavier Tieffenthaler, the Jesuit, was employed by him to minister to the needs of poor Christians, who were assisted anonymously.

Some Notes on the life and work of Gerald Aungier, Founder of Bombay.

"The City which by God's assistance is intended to be built."

(By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S.)

The early history of the British in Western India has received scant treatment at the hands of historians. The great Sir George Oxinden, and his still greater successor, Gerald Aungier, do not even find a place, among a host of lesser luminaries, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. And yet it is to the work of these forgotten worthies that we directly owe the mighty city of Bombay, "Urbs prima in Indis", as the traveller to the East sees her to-day in his first glimpse from the steamer's bows—

A sea Cybele fresh from Ocean
Rising, with her tiara of proud towers,
At airy distance, with majestic motion
A ruler of the waters and their powers.

Gerald Aungier was apparently born at Dublin about 1640, though the actual record of his birth has not, as far as I am aware, been traced. He belonged to one of the great Anglo-Irish families, originally, as his name implies, Norman-French in origin. His grandfather, Francis, had been created first Earl of Longford, chiefly as a reward for his work in connection with the plantation of Ulster. He had married as his first wife one of the Kildare Fitzgeralds, (whence, possibly, Gerald Aungier obtained his Christian name), and as his third, Margaret, widow of Sir John Lynne, and sister-in-law of Sir Thomas Roe, our famous ambassador to the court of Jahangir. His father, the Hon'ble and Revd Ambrose Aungier D. D., was Prebendary and Chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. A relation, Percival Aungier, was a cousin of Samuel Pepys, and was a pay master in the Company's offices at Leadenhall street. His cousins, the Hangers, were rich Turkey Merchants, trading with Aleppo and Smyrna. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that when young Gerald, a cadet, came of age, his first thoughts turned towards a career in the East. Doubtless the old dowager stood him in good stead, and we find in the minutes for November 1st, 1661, that he is 'entertained as Factor,' Sir Joseph Ashe and Sir George Smith being his securities in £1,000, and on December 18th, following he is 'entertained for Surat' on the princely salary of £30 per annum. In the following March he sailed on the *Richard and Martha*, in company with Sir George Oxinden and his nephew Henry. In August they arrived at Johanna, where they fell in with the Duke of Marlborough's fleet, going out to take over our new possession, Bombay, from the Portuguese. Sir George determined to send Gerald Aungier to Goa with the Duke on the *Dunkirk*. He was to see that, when the troops were landed, the ships should be despatched with all speed to Surat, in order that they might be loaded with merchandize in time to catch the monsoon for their homeward voyage. It speaks volumes for the opinion which Oxinden had formed of his young colleague, that he entrusted him at the outset with so delicate a mission. It is not surprising, therefore, that we soon find Gerald Aungier a member of the President's Council at Surat. Two years later occurred a further opportunity of shewing his metal in another field. On January 6th, 1664, while the factors were engaged on their daily tasks, "was brought us a hot alarm that Sevagy ye grand rebell of Deccan was within 10 or 15 miles of ye town." The factors might well have withdrawn with their goods to the fleet at Swally Hole, but our stout Puritan ancestors were cast in a different mould. "It was thought more like Englishman" writes Sir George, "to make ourselves ready to defend our lives to the uttermost". The factory was put in a state of defence, the sailors from Swally brought up four brass guns and mounted them on the roof, and all set to work melting lead and casting bullets. The Mogul Governor retreated to the Castle, leaving the great city, the emporium of the East, with all its stored up wealth, to the mercy of the Marathas. Oxinden tried to hearten the inhabitants by marching through the streets at the head of his little force

of peons, sailors and factors, under two hundred all told, with flags flying and drums beating. On the horrors of the ensuing orgie of rapine and plunder it is unnecessary here to dwell. When the Maratha chief tried to extort a ransom from the Factory, Sir George " bidde him keepe his people out of ye range of our guns, else wee would shoote them," adding " he should send no more messages, and if he did, we would kill ye messenger!" During the siege, Gerald Aungier behaved with conspicuous gallantry. He commanded a sortie of 20 men, which sallied out to attack a party of about 25 Marathas, who were endeavouring to set fire to a neighbouring building. Had they succeeded, they would have rendered the factory untenable. Aungier charged and routed them with heavy loss, bringing in his little force with only two wounded. For four days and nights the sack went on, and then, at the approach of a Mogul army, the Marathas vanished as suddenly as they had come. For their gallant conduct, the factors were publicly thanked by the Mogul general: the Company awarded to Sir George a gold medal and £200, and £60 to Gerald Aungier. Tom Paine, who was shot in the leg by a Maratha arrow during Aungier's sortie, received £5 extra.

For the next four or five years, we find Aungier's name conspicuous in the routine business of the Surat Council. Sir George's health was giving way, and on July 14th, 1669, this great and gallant gentleman passed to his long rest. On the following day he was carried to his last resting-place, where he sleeps, beside his brother Christopher, beneath that imposing and gigantic cupola which I described to you in my paper last year. Around him, in the peaceful old cemetery on the banks of the silver Tapti, lie the bodies of those other half-forgotten factors, who so well and truly laid, at the cost of their lives, the foundations of the British power in the East.

Aungier was naturally selected to act as President pending orders from England. One of his first actions was to try and place the affairs of Bombay on a sounder footing. The history of that unhappy town had hitherto been of a chequered character. First of all, the Portuguese at Goa, furious at what they considered their betrayal by the Home authorities, placed every conceivable obstacle in the way of its surrender to the British. Sir Andrew Shipman's unhappy force, waiting to take possession on the island of Anjidiva, had, along with its commander perished almost to a man of malaria and dysentery. From 1665 to 1668, the ' Island of Bombay ' dragged out a miserable existence as a Crown dependency. It was then handed over to the Company on a quit-rent of £10 per annum. Sir George Oxinden had made Captain Young Deputy Governor, but the garrison, and especially the military officers, disliked being under the control of mere merchants, who took a Puritanical view of their riotous way of living. Further, Captain Young had quarrelled with his assistant Mr. Adams. In trying to enter the Adam's apartments, he pushed open a door so violently that he bruised Mrs. Adams to such an extent as to cause her death, though the doctor asserted that she died of fever!

Young's attitude to Aungier was one of open defiance and Aungier was forced to go to Bombay in person to settle the whole question, January 1670. He arrested Young and sent him home to England for trial. In October of the same year, a second Maratha raid on Surat convinced Aungier that the only sound policy was to move the head quarters of the Company bodily to Bombay, which, despite the opposition of the Moguls, he proceeded to do. Yet the task which confronted him might have well appalled the stoutest heart. Bombay in 1670, can only be described as a death-trap. It consisted of a chain of islands, separated at high tide by the sea, which, when it receded, left a mass of evil-smelling malarious swamps reeking in the tropical Sun. These islands were thickly covered with coconut plantations, and it was the custom to manure the trees by heaping round them to the height of 3 or 4 feet a species of small fish locally known as " buckshaws ", which, as they rotted, gave off an intolerable odour. The local wells were polluted and brackish, and drinking water had to be brought all the way from Salsette. The inhabitants were Portuguese half-castes, Bhandaris engaged in the toddy trade, and Koli fishermen, under 10,000 in all. The scanty European garrison consisted of a few broken-down and debauched sailors and soldiers, for no decent person could be induced to risk his life in such surroundings. The mortality was fearful. " Two monsoons were the life of a man "; to other tropical diseases was now added the dreaded " morte de chine " or cholera, which had recently followed the trade-route from China to Bombay, and the little cemetery at Mendham's Point was already full to overflowing. The town was practically unfortified, and might be raided at any moment by the Portuguese, Dutch, or the local pirates who swarmed along the coast. To the cleansing of these Augean stables Aungier at once applied himself. He set out from Surat at the end of May 1672, just as the monsoon had broken in all its fury. At first it was feared that he was lost at sea, but he landed safely on June 7th, stating " that no consideration could divert him from running the greatest hazards to serve his honorable masters ". It was, indeed, an act of courage in itself to forsake his comfortable quarters at the Surat factory for the unspeakable risks of a monsoon season in Bombay. But Aungier actually remained in Bombay continuously till 1675, and only a brief summary of his work can here be attempted. One of his first acts was to put the fortifications into a state of repair. He was only just in time, for in February 1673, Van Goen, the Dutch Admiral, descended upon the island with a fleet and an army of 6,000 men. To oppose these Aungier could only raise 300 Europeans, 400 " topassis ", 500 sepoys, and 300 Bhandaris armed with clubs for the occasion, but he made such a brave show, behaving, in the words of Orme, " with the calmness of a philosopher and the courage of a centurion ", that the Dutch did not dare to attack him. The next step was to attract inhabitants. To Portuguese and Mahomedans alike religious toleration was unknown. Neither Hindus nor Parsis could erect places of worship or dispose of their dead according to their traditional rites in Bombay, and the Qazi of Surat (probably more with the

ideas of extorting blackmail than any else) had just issued an edict for the demolition of the Hindu temples. Aungier proclaimed complete religious liberty in Bombay. In 1671 he entered into a compact with the Mahajan of the Banias of Surat, and five years later, with those of Diu. In 1672 he had already won the confidence of the Parsis and allowed them to build their first Tower of Silence on Malabar Hill. In 1676 he held out similar inducements to the Armenians. The result of this wise policy was that Indian merchants flocked into Bombay, and within a century the population had gone up from 10,000 to 60,000. Special terms were offered to artisans. In 1674, Aungier drew up his celebrated Convention with the inhabitants of Bombay, after calling " a general assembly of the chief representatives of the people ", by which he commuted the various feudal tenures under which their lands were held for an annual quit-rent of 20,000 Xeraphims (£1,666). Abuses such as forced labour were abolished. Aungier closely studied the caste-system, and made a series of remarkable proposals to the. Company. One was that " Societies or Fellowships " (Panchayats) should be formed among the Hindu merchants. Another was to the effect that the various races should be represented by Chiefs or " Consuls ", to act as petty magistrate while " Moderators or Superintendents " were appointed to act as " Arbitrators " in communal disputes. In all these enactments, as in his prohibition of cowslaughter in the Banya quarter of the town, Aungier was much in advance of his time. Other far-sighted proposals included one, anticipating Warren Hastings by a century, to " put some of the ancient Braminy writings into print ", and to bring out English schoolmasters for the children. Three law courts were set up—a small Causes Court, a Court of Appeal and a Court Martial, but the jury system was not found to be practicable. No encouragement however was to be given to " vexatious suits and contrivances layed by common barristors ". In 1675, the question of sanitation chiefly occupied Aungier's attention. The terrible mortality must be reduced at all costs, if Europeans were to live there. He employed an engineering expert to drain the " drowned lands ", and erected, at a cost of £400, a hospital with 70 beds. He also started the building of Bombay Cathedral, (towards which he left 5,000 rupees in his will) and presented it with a beautiful silver chalice, which is still preserved among its most precious possessions. Aungier was a strict disciplinarian; he put down the " accursed Bombay punch-houses "; women of bad character were imprisoned and fed with bread and water till they are embarked on board ship for England; and when a mutiny broke out among the troops in 1674, the ringleader, Corporal Fake, was promptly shot by order of Court Martial. In 1674, Aungier drew up a State paper for the Company, dealing with the condition and prospects of Bombay, which is a document of the utmost value. One of his last acts was the establishment of the first British Mint in India: its honest coins gave an enormous impetus to the Company's trade.

But Aungier's unquenchable passion for reform proved too much for his constitution. Worn out by over-work, he laid his weary body to rest beside

that of his former chief in the old Surat cemetery, on June 30th, 1677, at the early age of 37. He is described as 'a chivalric and intrepid man, a gentleman well qualified for governing'; he made it his 'daily study to advance the company's interest and the good and safety of the people under him'. In the short period of 8 years he had achieved almost a miracle. "The City which by God's assistance is intended to be built", was already arising before men's eyes; he had given England in India "a more sure, lasting foundation than any nation whatsoever." Writing nearly half a century after his death, says Hamilton, "the name of Mr. Aungier is much revered by the ancient people of Surat and Bombay into this day." No portrait of him has survived; even his tomb was unmarked until almost the other day. Gerald Aungier was not a soldier bent on conquest, but a plain English merchant, who came to India to trade peacefully on behalf of his employers. But when molested on his lawful occasions, he hit back and hit hard; where he found chaos, he introduced law and order. In a word, his life-work is an epitome of the history of the British in India.

APPENDIX.

English Inhabitants of Bombay, 1682.

Company Officials	17
Freemen	8
Naval Officers	18
Military Officers & N. C. Os.	31
Soldiers	112
Women	34
Children	37
TOTAL	257

Casualties during the year—

Men	12
Women	3
Children	3
TOTAL	18

"We arrived here at the beginning of the Rains, and buried, of the 24 Passengers which we brought with us, above 20 before they were ended; and of our own ships Company, above 15; and had we stayed until the end of the next month, October, the rest would have undergone a very hazardous Fate". Ovington, Voyage to Suratt (1689) p. 14.

A Treaty between Aurangzeb and the Portuguese.

(By the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A.).

The ' Indian Historical Research Institute ', St. Xavier's College, Bombay, possesses photographs of an agreement between the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and the Portuguese Viceroy Conde de Sao Vicente. This document is still unknown to the historians of the Mughal Empire. Copies of eight original contemporary letters kept in the Portuguese Government archives enabled me to study all the dealings between both powers prior to this final settlement. The result of that study is embodied in this paper.

From the perusal of these letters we gather that before the year 1664 there was peace between the Mughals and the Portuguese.[1] But all on a sudden General Ludican (*sic*) with an army entered the Portuguese territory, under the pretext that the Portuguese were helping Sivaji, who had some Portuguese captains in his army. This action was naturally considered illegal [2] by the Portuguese Viceroy Antonio de Mello de Castro, who complained about this inroad to Emperor Aurangzeb. He showed nevertheless his willingness to come to a mutual understanding.[3] By the same time or perhaps a little later, but in any case before March 1665, Maharaja Jai Singh, the general of the Mughal army, had sent a letter to the Viceroy.[4] Again he seems to have written about the same subject before August of the same year.[5] We do not know who was the envoy that brought these letters to Goa. As regards the second, we know, however, that he was the son of an old ambassador of the Mughal Emperor to the same Viceroy, by whom he is called "his intimate friend".[6]

What was the subject of these letters, we may deduce from the answer of the Viceroy. Jai Singh seems to have repeated the charges of Ludi[illegible] against the Viceroy.[7] Moreover he had resented not to receive any congratulations from the Portuguese authorities after his arrival in the Deccan.[8] The Viceroy in his reply assures Jai Singh that he had sent orders to all the captains not to help Sivaji, according to Jai Singh's request.[9] Moreover he records his regret of being unable to check the Portuguese soldiers who are in Sivaji's service, and affirms that he would be pleased if Jai Singh punished them.[10] In fact Portuguese soldiers were also in the service of other kings,[11]

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[1] Ap., No. 1. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Ap., No. 2. [4] Ap., No. 1.
[5] Ap., No. 3. [6] Ap., No. 5. [7] Ap., No. 1. [8] Ap., No. 5.
[9] Ap., No. 5.
[10] Ap., No. 2. Such are the declarations of the Viceroy to the General of the Mughal Emperor; but in fact he was in secret communication with Sivaji from the beginning of 1663. In a letter dated April 26th, 1663, the Viceroy assures the Maratha chief that "he will never permit anybody to do anything wrong to the soldiers of your Lordship (Sivaji's), towards whom I have special leanings and whom I shall always help very willingly" (**Pangim Archives, *Reis Visinhos*, No. 2, folio 15; a copy in our I. H. R. I.**). A new letter repeating the same ideas, was written to him on June 2nd, of the same year (*Ibid.*, folio 16).
[11] Ap., Nos. 1 and 2.

for instance in the armies of Golkonda and Bijapur and even under the Mughal Emperor himself. As a matter of fact Francisco de Melo and Diogo de Melo had informed the Viceroy that the Christian Captain of the Mughals had defended the Portuguese from the calumnies that were spread against them without foundation. On account of this the Viceroy wrote a letter to the Christian Captain expressing his thankfulness.[12] Who this Christian Captain was, we are unable to say. Finally the Viceroy in his reply to Jai Singh accuses Ludican himself of having allowed Sivaji to pass safe in his way to Surat;[13] and nevertheless Ludican, in order to cover his negligence, blamed the Viceroy for giving help to the Marathas.[14]

As regards the second point the Viceroy does not reply directly to Jai Singh himself, but informs the latter's envoy that he " had not sent any one to visit general Maharaja Jai Singh, because it is a custom among us that whosoever comes (into these parts) should first keep the other party informed of it ". In fact, he says that " he acted in a similar way with the Queen Mother of Aly Idalxa (Ali Adil Shah) ". Such are the contents of the Viceroy's letters.

The second of these letters was sent to Jai Singh through the Jesuit Fr. Damiao Vieira, then Vicar of Bassein. The object of Fr. Vieira's mission was to congratulate the Mughal general on his success, perhaps over Sivaji, and to settle the affairs between him and the Viceroy.[15]

Through the same Fr. Vieira, the Viceroy send another letter to Mirza Lascarim. The object of this letter was apparently to influence through the Mirza the will of Jai Singh to accept a peace honourable to Portugal. In his letter to Jai Singh the Viceroy has expressed his wish of settling a firm peace between the Mughal Empire and the State of Portuguese India. This wish could wrongly be interpreted as a sign of weakness. Hence the Viceroy emphasizes in his letter to Mirza Lascarim that " we, the Portuguese, are very sincere and constant friends of our allies, but know at the same time to defend ourselves from our enemies, as it has been shown by experience of ages ".[16] The natural consequence was to induce Jai Singh to settle peace with the Portuguese.

The diplomatic mission of Fr. Vieira may be elucidated by the information gathered from the entangled account of Manucci.[17] It seems that he had special instructions from the Viceroy as regards the prospective Mughal campaign against Bijapur. Manucci says that he " entered on warlike pro-

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[12] Ap., No. 2.
[13] This refers to the first sack of Surat by Sivaji in January, 1664.
[14] Ap., No. 1.
[15] Ap., Nos. 3 and 5. [16] Ap., No. 4.
[17] Manucci says that Fr. Vieira was sent to Jai Singh by one Ignacio Sarmento, Governor of Bassein. This shows perhaps that the official mission of the Viceroy was unknown to him and to the public and known only to Jai Singh himself.

posals." "He promised the Raja", continues Manucci, "that he would manage that the Viceroy of Goa should give aid to the Mughals in the acquisition of Bijapur, ". Manucci dislike this interference of Fr. Vieira in the war with Bijapur, or at least he says so:—"Over and over again I told the Padre that it was not a good thing to enter into such matters, that he had much better withdraw to Goa. For the King of Bijapur was a better neighbour to the Portuguese than the Mughal King would ever be. The latter having conquered Bijapur would next try to take Goa. The Padre was not pleased with my views and complained to the Rajah so that the Rajah said to me one day, without giving a reason, that I should avoid meeting the Padre".[18] No other information has come to us about Fr. Vieira's mission.

The embassy of Fr. Damiao Vieira to Jai Singh was fully reciprocated by the latter, who towards the close of the same year 1666 sent a new ambassador to the Portuguese Viceroy. By this time a new Viceroy had arrived from the metropolis. This was Don Joao Nunes da Cunha, Conde de Sao Vicente. A few days after his landing in Goa, Jai Singh's ambassador also arrived at the capital of the Portuguese possessions. This was Coje Alaudy Mamede (Kwaja Allaudin Muhammad). The counsellors of the Viceroy objected to the fact that the ambassador had not shown his credentials, according to custom. Nevertheless the Conde received him well, even before his full recovery, for he seems to have been very ill during the voyage. This fact alone was a sign of his benevolent feelings towards the Mughal Emperor, and of his wish to continue the old friendship with him. This also is evidently manifested in the letter of the Viceroy to Maharajah Jai Singh given to the ambassador on his way back home. Together with this letter the Viceroy was sending to Jai Singh a portrait of the King of Portugal "as a sign of affection and friendship."

Kwaja Allaudin Muhammad had proposed on behalf of Emperor Aurangzeb several questions to the Viceroy. As regards these questions Conde de Sao Vicente writes to Jai Singh as follows:—"I gave him (the ambassador) my agreement to your proposals, as you will learn from the answers which I am herein sending you".[19] Both the proposals of Aurangzeb and the reply of the Viceroy constitute a document called by us a Treaty, according to the Portuguese acceptance of the word.

This document, which is to be found in the Archives of the Portuguese Government at Pangim (*Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*), *Pazes e Tratados, No. 2, Ano de 1715-1746, folios 155-158*, consists of two pages $16\frac{1}{2} \times 12$ inches, in a pretty good state of preservation, excepting the corners. These pages were formerly bound across the middle, so that each formed two pages of the volume; but now the binding being worn out, they are

[18] Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, II, p. 142-3.
[19] Ap., No. 6.

detached and almost divided into two by the creases. One of the pages bears the treaty in Persian, and the other in Portuguese, both beautifully written in good hand and pretty dark ink, Both pages must be considered the original of the document, as both bear the signatures of the Viceroy and of the ambassador, as well as the impression of the seal of the latter. Two copies of the same, one in Portuguese and the other in Persian were most likely sent to Jai Singh.

In the same Archives, *Pazes e Tratados, No. 1, Ano de 1571, folio, 51,* there exists a copy of the Portuguese original, with the following title:—"Capitulacoes de Alguns Cousas Assentadas Entre O Conde de Sao Vicente Vrey da India, e El Rey, Por Meyo de Seu Embaixador No Anno de 1667". The treaty was most likely signed in the beginning of this year.

The questions of the Mughal Emperor and the answers of the Viceroy are given in the original in two columns, corresponding to each other. So we shall give them here, first in Persian, then in Portuguese, and finally translated into English.[20] The translation is made straight from the Persian though it has also been compared with the Portuguese original.

The Persian Original.

تعليق تحرير شرط نامه فرنگچي

جواب كوندي سالوسيت ريزرى و كپتان جنرال
به تقرير حاجب مشاراليه كرده شد ايست
برين تفصيل

علاوالدين محمد حاجب بادشاه مغل تحرير
شرط نامه طرف پادشاه عالمگير كه در زمان سپهسالار
ميرزا راجه جيك اقرار شده بود ظاهر كرد بدين
تفصيل

اول

وقتي كه از طرف پادشاه مغل براے سركار خاصه
جنس تحفه نفيس خريد خواهند كرد انرا عذر
نخواهد گرفت بهمين وتيره در ملک پادشاه مغل
براے فرستادن پيش پادشاه حاجب ما جنس
تبرک خريد خواهند كرد و بايد كه ايشان بهمين
طريق بايد چلانيد و بعضى متاع را معافي دادن
حاصل فرضد دوان مابين سامان نقصان ميشود

اول

وقتي كه از طرف پادشاه مغل در ملك فرنگيان
متاع و اموال خريد خواهند كرد انرا مشور نبايد
گرفت و عليق و مانع نبايد شد امداد نموده معافي
بايد كرد

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[20] I owe this translation to my student Mr. Burjor B. Bulsara.

دوم

بدین موجب قبولم اگر رعایاے پادشاه مغل حرامخوري ورزد ما انها را معاف نخواهید داد بهمین وتیره پادشاه مغل نیز باید چلانید

دوم

هر کسي که با پادشاه مغل حرامخوري ورزد اورا فرنگیان در ملک خود معاف نماید، داد و چنان باید دانشت که او حرامخور پادشاه پرتکال است

سوم

در این باب قبولم حاجب مقیمي کسی که براے ردبدل مهمازي برده ما اورا بر قواعد مقابله یکدیگر شاهان خواهند چلانید، فیمابین حاجبان را در مقابله عزت و حرمت باید داد

سوم

فیمابین معرفت حاجبان رابطه باید داشت اینکه دوستي جانین بر فرید گشته استحکام بزیرد و ازجانب پادشاه مغل شخصی حاجب مقیمی در ملك فرنگیان برده باشد اورا لایق شرف شاهان عزت و حرمت باید داد براے این انصرام مهماے جانین که فیمابین خلاف دوستي و یکجهتي نشود

چهارم

در ملت ما بظلم گریشان نمودن درست نیست در این باب اگر درکار حکمها شود تا چنان حکم خواهم کرد که بظلم و تعدي گرسانند نباید کرد اگر برضا و رغبت خود در ملت ما خواهند آمد انها را گزشته نخواهد شد در معاف باامراد پرورس خواهند کرد

کندي و نیزانشان

چهارم

رعایاے پادشاه مغل خواه هندوان اگر مسلمان باشند بظلم و تعدي کودکان ایشان اشانرا گریستاند نباید کرد

حسب الحکم پادشاه عالمگیر عهدنامه نوشته شده
و بموجب نوشته فرنگي مستحکم گراید
محمد علاوالدین ابن سعید
چون صبح سعادت بعالم دمید

The Portuguese Original.

Proposta das Couzas apprezentadas por Coje Alaudi Mamede, Embaixador dEl Rey Gram Mogor, que sao as mesmas que o dito Embaixador hauia prosposto, por parte de Mirza Raza Zaessinga, General do dito Rey.

Reposta que fas o Conde de Sao Vicente VRey e capitao geral da India, a proposta atras.

1º.

Quando se comprarem fazendas nas terras dos Portuguezes, por parte dEl Rey Mogor, nao pagarao dereitos nem se pora impedimento a ellas, antes lhe darao todo o fauor, e liberdade.

1º.

Que quando se offereca algua occasiao de Se comprar algua curiosidade, ou regalo pera a pessoa dEl Rey Mogor se lhe fara toda a boa passagem, e o mesmo se espera dEl Rẽy Mogor, quando se offereca outro semelhante, pera se mandar a El Rey meu Sor, e emquanto as mais fazendas serem izentas de dereitos Se emprejuizo da fazenda Real, e rendimentos das Alfandegas de ambos os Reys.

2º.

Toda a pessao que for rebelde, e aleuantado contra a Coroa do dito Rey, lhe nao darao lugar os Portuguezes debaixo de seu amparo, e o tratarao como proprio alevantado dEl Rey de Portugal.

2º.

Que me conformo em tudo sendo as pessoas naturais Vassallos dEl Rey Mogor, a Rebeldes contra sua Coroa, e o mesmo se fara da parte dEl Rey Mogor.

3º.

Que de parte, a parte haja concorrencia de Vizitas, e Cartas por Via de Embaixadores, e Enuiados para hauer mayor firmeza, e augmento na amizade de ambos os Estados, e que assistira sempre hu Embaixador nas terras dos Portuguezes por parte do dito Rey, o qual sera respeitado nellas com toda a honra, e Cortezia, conforme a grandesa do mesmo Rey, para procurar, e dar expediente aos negocios de ambos os Estados para que nao haja differenca, na amizade delles.

3º.

Que me conformo enque assista reciprocamente Embaixador, Enuiado, ou assistente, que parecer mais conueniente, as materias que se tratarem, e que igualmente sejao respeitados, e tratados com toda a honra, e Cortezia.

4º.

Nao sejao tomados os orfaos dos vassallos do dito Rey, assy mouros

4º.

Que a nossa Relligiao nao permite fazer christaos por forca, e a esse

como gentios, e que os nao facao christaos por forca.

respeito mandarey as ordens que forem necessarias, pera se nao fazer o contrario, mas fazendosse christaos Voluntariamente senao entregarao por menhu cazo, e se lhes dara todo o fauor e amparo.

(Signature and seal as in the Persian original.)

The English Translation.

The Written Document of the Treaty with Faranghi.

The treaty of the King of Mughals Alimgir through Mohmad Alla-udin, the envoy of the Mughal King, during the time of the General Mirza Raja Jai Singh, is given here in full detail.

The reply to the said envoy by Kondi San Vist, Vaisri and Captain Jaal is given here in detail.

First.

At times when (people) from the Mughal King wish to buy any property in the kingdom of Farangian, there should be no custom-duty or hindrance, and if necessary they should be helped and it should be given free.

First.

At a time when (people) from the Mughal King buy any precious thing as a present for the Mughal King only, custom-duty should not be charged. In the same way in the Mughal Kingdom when we buy any present for the King, our master, the same thing should be done by them. To let off some goods duty free, causes deficit in the custom-treasury on both sides.

Second.

Farangian should not protect (pardon, *lit.*) in their kingdom a man who rebels against the Mughal King, and should consider him as a rebel against the Portugal King.

Second.

Accordingly I consented to this, that if the subjects of the Mughal proved disloyal (rebels) against him, we shall not protect them; in the same way the Mughal King should behave.

Third.

There should be communication between the two parties through envoys (and letters, *Port*). In

Third.

I agree to this clause. The ambassador or the envoy or the man in charge will be treated with honour

order to make their friendship firm, a person from the Mughal King should be sent to the kingdom of Farangian. He is to be treated with royal honour, befitting him and he will look after the (State) affairs so that there may not be any breach in our friendship.

and respect befitting him in accordance to the rules made by the Kings. Both the parties should treat them with respect and honour.

Fourth.

The orphans of the subjects of the Mughal King, though they may be Hindoos or Mohmedans should not be converted to Christianity by force.

Fourth.

In our religion it is not allowed to convert (any one) by force. I will issue orders that (they) should not be made Caristano (Christians) by force and oppression, but if they embrace our religion spontaneously and willingly, they will not be handed over to you, and will be treated kindly.

O C

Mahmad Allaudin, The son of Said, Blooming to the World Like a Happy Morning.

By order of King Alimgir this document is written and the Farangy have agreed to his proposals.

O C Vizerre Kondi Vaisri of High Position Mohmad.

Two of the four articles of this treaty are of great historical importance, *viz.*, the second and the fourth.

By the second the Portuguese Viceroy promises not to help in any way any rebel subject of the Mughal Emperor. Evidently the petition of Aurangzeb points to Sivaji. When the petition was entrusted to the care of Kwaja Allaudin, Sivaji had just escaped from his prison at Agra. Naturally the rebellious conduct of Sivaji in the Deccan was then a galling nightmare to the Emperor, who wanted at least to be sure that the Portuguese would not render help to him in any way. This he obtained by the promise of Conde de Sao Vicente:—" If the subjects of the Moghal King proved disloyal against him, we shall not protect them ".

The fourth article is even more interesting. Aurangzeb demands that " the orphans of the subjects of the Mughal King, whether they be Hindoos

or Muhammadans, should not be converted to Christianity by force." What was the cause of inserting this provision into a purely political treaty? An event narrated by Manucci gives a suitable reply to this question. At the time of the advance of Jai Singh through the Deccan, just before commencing the Bijapur campaign (by the middle of 1665), "the Hindoos of Chawal (Chaul)," says Manucci, "came to complain to Rajah Jai Singh that the Portuguese were seizing forcibly the sons of the Hindoos and making them Christians. This made the Rajah angry, for he was zealous in the Hindu faith, and he made preparations to send a force against Chawal". This force was none the less never despatched. For in the meantime Fr. Damiao Vieira reached Jai Singh's camp and Manucci could ascertain through this Father, the truth of that charge against the Portuguese. "I spoke to the Rajah, and pointed out to him that there was no occasion for the Hindoos of Chawal to complain, since what the Portuguese were doing had certainly been going on for a hundred years; nor did they make Christians of anyone but orphans who had no relations forthcoming."[21]

This explanation undoubtedly appeased a little the anger of Jai Singh. Nevertheless he wanted to be sure that not even these orphans were forcibly converted. Hence this demand was made to the Viceroy, through the Mughal ambassador.

The reply of Conde de Sao Vicente, after stating the dogmatic principle that "in our religion it is not allowed to convert (anyone) by force", promises to issue new order on the subject. Anyhow "if they embrace our religion willingly, they will not be handed over to you." These two clauses outline the whole religious policy of the Portuguese in India.[22]

Now, Kwaja Allaudin was "the envoy of the Mughal King", as we read in the heading of the treaty itself, not of Rajah Jai Singh. The same treaty reads:—"The treaty of the King of Moghuls Alimgir (Alamgir Aurangzeb) through Mohamad Allaudin"; and as such the treaty was signed and sealed by the ambassador. Accordingly Aurangzeb agreed that those of his subjects, either Hindoos or Muhammadans, who willingly wished to become Christians could be baptized. Such liberal concession seems quite new in the history of Aurangzeb, who has always been depicted as a bigoted Muslim. It is gratifying indeed to revise thus the character of this Emperor.

Together with this treaty Kwaja Allaudin Muhammad was given a letter of the Viceroy to the Mughal Emperor himself. In the Pangim Archives there is a translation of this letter into Portuguese. From this Portuguese translation the following one in English has been made.

"The ambassador of your general manifested to me the great sympathy with which you regarded the doings of the King my Lord; and I have resolved to return this kindness by assuring you of the interest which I myself

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[21] Manucci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 142-3.
[22] *Cf.* Heras, *The Decay of the Portuguese Power in India*, *J. B. H. S.*, I, p. 32-4.

with all my Indian power take in the increase of your greatness. The ambassador will tell you the rest as well as all my designs. Please inform me as soon as possible in what I might help and serve you with all my heart and with due sympathy. Since I have communicated with the ambassador on everything, this note is only meant to show my good will to you, and to declare that you may be sure of having in your ambassador a very faithful servant. He by his well reasoned exposition to me persuaded me to undertake the most difficult enterprise in the world. May God protect you. January 10th, 1667. The Conde V. Rey."[23]

We do not know what was this "most difficult enterprise" mentioned by the Viceroy at the end of his letter. From a second letter of his to Aurangzeb, which will soon be quoted, we deduce that it was a sea campaign "which however ended in failure". Was it perhaps a campaign against the fleet of Sivaji?

Aurangzeb seems to have been very pleased with this letter and the treaty of alliance with the Portuguese Viceroy. In fact his armies in the Deccan were then much vexed by Sivaji and his Marathas; and it was a sort of relief to find those powerful friends in Sivaji's neighbourhood ready to help the Mughals against the Marathas. Very soon indeed they fulfilled their promise, as we shall see from the following letter of Conde de Sao Vicente. The fact is that the Mughal Emperor again sent Kwaja Allaudin Muhammad as his ambassador with a letter to the Viceroy. This letter is unfortunately lost. But the Viceroy's reply is to be found in the Pangim Archives. We shall give here an English translation of the same. It will disclose how faithfully the Portuguese Viceroy was carrying out his promise to help the Mughals against his enemies. It runs as follows:—

"Your Majesty's letter reached me through the ambassador Caje Allaudy Mamede and I gave it its due consideration, not only because it came from your Majesty, but for the special favours which your Majesty granted me therein. Moreover your Majesty was so good as to make peace with my sovereign under those conditions which are necessary to keep up and strengthen your old friendship. As soon as Your Majesty informed me that your Majesty's victorious army commanded by the generous and fortunate prince Sultan Mazama, (Muazzam), Your Majesty's son, entered Deccan, I offered to help the prince; for one who pledges his own life does not look to what will follow. I had to inform your Majesty, how as soon as I, surrounded by many valiant captains and soldiers, reached the East, I succeeded in taking possession of the sea. I ordered my navy to enter China and then compelled the King of Golkanda (Golkonda) to come to terms. Moreover such was our power on the Malabar Coast that no ship would dare to cross that sea; and the Canara (the King of) retired to those mountains, experiencing the severity of my sword, without any possibility for its vassals to sail

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[23] Ap., No. 7.

abroad. There is famine in Arabia as the gates of Canara and the straits are taken (by my ships). I have sent some of my vessels to Mecca; to the Persian Sea, under the valiant general of the navy, mighty ships went; so that just as Your Majesty is the lord of the Eastern countries, so my sovereign is the sovereign of all the seas. This being the case, if your Majesty would only unite with my sovereign, all will come under your submission. Prompted by my conscience, I thought of informing Your Majesty's ambassador of this, at the same time reminding Your Majesty of the vast sum that I spent last year to carry out by sea the great enterprise, which however ended in failure. Hence I wrote to the prince and told the ambassador to disclose to you all my designs, so that Your Majesty may be well served and I may deserve the esteemed favours of your Majesty. As regards what Your Majesty informed me of about Sivaji, the ambassador will communicate to your Majesty all that I have told him on this subject. May God protect the Royal Person of Your Majesty and prosper you with His Divine Grace."

Goa, 18 May, 1668.

"THE CONDE V. REY."[24].

This letter of the Portuguese Viceroy to the Emperor Aurangzeb requires some short comments.

The description of the Portuguese power in the East is simply an empty boast. A person ignorant of the history of the East would naturally think that that Empire was even more powerful than the modern British Empire. From Arabia to China the strength of their arms seems to be felt; yet prescinding from the sea power, their sphere of influence on the continent seems to have been very limited. Yet the intention of the Viceroy seems to have been to impress the maritime power of Portugal upon the mind of the Mughal Emperor. In fact some years after, on March 12th, 1678, the Governor of Goa could write to Tanaji Rama, Avaldar of Vingurla on behalf of Sivaji: "In the seas of India no vessels may sail without charters of this government, as settled by old laws and customs ".[25]

The letter also records the offering of help on the part of the Portuguese Viceroy against Sivaji. A few months after the above treaty was signed, Mirza Jai Singh had been replaced by Prince Muazzam, the third son of the Emperor, who arrived at Aurangabad in May, 1667.[26] The Conde at once offered his services to the new viceroy against Sivaji. But the indolent prince seems to have had no interest in crushing the Maratha chief. The fact is that peace was made between Sivaji and Aurangzeb in the month of March, 1668. This perhaps was the news communicated by Aurangzeb to the Portuguese Viceroy and referred to by the latter in his reply.

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[24] Ap., No. 8.
[25] Ap., No. 9.
[26] *Cf.* Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, IV, p. 95.

As a matter of fact the Viceroy himself had also settled peace with Sivaji some months before. After a series of pourparlers and embassies that commenced on July 15th, 1667,[27] Sivaji sent to Goa one Sacopanta empowered to settle the clauses of the treaty with the Viceroy; a thing which was happily done on December 5th, 1667, one year after the treaty between the Viceroy and Aurangzeb was signed. Sacopanta accompanied by the Jesuit Fr. Goncalo Martins, as the Viceroy's ambassador, at once proceeded to Raygar[28] where Sivaji finally ratified the treaty on December 11th.

One year had not elapsed when Conde de Sao Vicente died on November 16th, 1668.[29]

APPENDIX.

Documents used for the preceding paper.

No 1. A letter of the Viceroy Antonio de Mello de Castro to the Maharaja Jai Singh, Mughal Viceroy in the Deccan. Goa, March 31st, 1665. *Reis Visinhos, No. 2, folio 36.*

No 2. A letter of the same Portuguese Viceroy to the Christian Captain of the Mughal army. Goa, March 31st, 1665. *Ibid.*

No 3. Another letter of the same Viceroy to Maharaja Jai Singh. Goa, August 22nd, 1665. *Ibid., folio 38.*

No 4. A letter of the same Viceroy to Mirza Lascarim. Goa, August 22nd, 1665. *Ibid.*

No 5. A letter of the same Viceroy to the ambassador of Jai Singh. Goa, August 22nd, 1665. *Ibid.*

No 6. A letter of the same Viceroy to Maharaja Jai Singh. Goa, December 17th, 1666. *Ibid., folio 49.*

No 7. A letter of the same Viceroy to the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. Goa, January 19th, 1667. *Ibid., folio 51.*

No 8. A letter of the Portuguese Viceroy Conde de Sao Vicente to Emperor Aurangzeb. Goa, May 18th, 1668. *Ibid., folio 85.*

No 9. A letter of the Governor of Goa to Tanaji Rama, Avaldar of Vingurla. Goa, March 12th, 1678. *Ibid., folio, 14.*

No 10. A letter of the Portuguese Viceroy Conde de Sao Vicente to Sivaji. Goa, December 5th, 1667. *Ibid., folio 73.*

No 11. A treaty of peace settled between Sivaji and the Portuguese Viceroy Conde de Sao Vicente. Goa, December 5th, 1667. *Pazes e Tratados, No. 2, folios 160-2.*

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[27] *Cf.* Pissurlencar, *Shivaji*, p. 16-18.
[28] Ap., No 10.
[29] *Cf.* Pissurlencar, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Materials for the Study of the Early Relations of the East India Company with Burma.

(By Professor D. G. E. Hall, M.A., I.E.S.)

Until recently the main source of information used by writers for the history of Anglo-Burmese relations up to the reign of Alaungpaya (1752-60) has been Alexander Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory, a collection of papers ranging from transcriptions of what may strictly be termed original documents to what are far removed from such a category, and dealing mainly with British enterprise in countries from India to China during parts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of the 1178 pages of this work some 258 are concerned with Burma;[1] but of these by far the greater number relates solely to the period 1753-1763. The earlier period, however, receives general treatment in Dalrymple's own 'Letter concerning the Negrais Expedition', written in 1759, and incorporated in the first volume of the work. Also in the second volume are to be found the documents of the Fleetwood and Bowyear missions to Burma in 1695 and 1697 respectively; and I should here mention that Dalrymple did not gain access to these until many years after he wrote his brief account of Anglo-Burmese relations, which, as I have already stated, is to be found in his 'Letter concerning the Negrais Expedition'.

In this 'Letter', writing of the period 1709-1744 in Anglo-Burmese relations, Dalrymple makes the following statement: "There is hardly any Information to be obtained from Public Records during this Period, so that I have scarce been able to collect any thing worthy Attention, from the Records of almost a Century".[2] Now his summary of the information that he had succeeded in extracting from what he calls "public records" occupies exactly four pages of his magnum opus,[3] and so far as actual historical facts are concerned, contains nothing definite earlier than 1680. All the facts given therein, with the exception of what is reported as mere hearsay, can be easily traced to their sources in the records of Fort St. George, Madras.

Concerning the period previous to 1680 Dalrymple hazarded what I strongly suspect to have been nothing more than a huge guess. "In the beginning of the 17th Century", he writes, "it appears, both English and Dutch, had considerable Commerce in the Buraghmah Dominions; the English had Establishments at Syrian, at Prom, at Ava; and on the borders of China; probably at Pramoo;[4] the Dutch, by an Inscription in Teutonic Characters, lately found at Negrais, on the Tomb of a Dutch Colonel, who died in 1607,

[1] A reprint of this portion of the work was published by the Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, Rangoon, in 1926.
[2] Oriental Repertory, I, p. 105.
[3] *Ibid*, I, pp. 102-106.
[4] Bhamo.

appear then to have had Possession of that Island, of which the Natives are said to have an obscure Tradition. On some dispute with the Buraghmah Government, the Dutch threatened (if they did not even attempt) to bring in the Chinese; This very justly gave umbrage to the Buraghmah, who immediately turned both English and Dutch out of his Dominions; many years elapsed before the English could obtain leave to return; and the Dutch never were readmitted."[5] We are not given the slightest hint of the source from which Dalrymple obtained this information. Most of it is so fantastically false that it would be interesting to know who invented it. A few facts will show how much reliance can be placed upon it.

Although the East India Company's Agent at Masulipatam sent two factors, Henry Forrest and John Staveley, to the city of Pegu in 1617 to receive the estate of a Company's servant, Thomas Samuel, who had died there after having been captured by the Burmese at the siege of Chiengmai, the Company established no factories in Burma until 1647. Late in that year Fort St. George planted the first English factory in Burma, with Thomas Breton as its chief, at Syriam, then the chief port of the country. In the following year Syriam opened a branch at Ava. A short period of high hopes and profitable transactions was summarily brought to an end by the outbreak of the first Anglo-Dutch war in 1652, and the financial and other embarrassments of the Company at home during the Cromwellian régime caused the abandonment of both factories in 1656. No further attempts to reopen English factories in Burma were made until 1680, the year in which the Dutch East India Company vacated the country.

The explanation of Dalrymple's ignorance of these facts is not far to seek. The Fort St. George records, which apparently were his sole source of authentic information regarding English enterprise in Burma, are extremely defective, so far as the seventeenth century is concerned, and particularly for the period from 1639, the date of the foundation of the Fort St. George factory, to about the year 1680. Probably for this period they were little better in Dalrymple's day. Of the three series of collected documents, which together form the Factory Records of Fort St. George for this period, only one small bunch of Consultations, extending from March 31st 1655 to December 4th of the same year, covers any part of the time during which the East India maintained stations in Burma. The series of Letters Despatched does not begin until 1661, and that of Letters Received not until 1672. Unlike its neighbour in Siam, and most of the other English factories in the East, the Pegu factory, as the Syriam and Ava ventures are collectively called in the contemporary records of the Company, never had sufficient records to justify their collection and preservation as a special series in the Company's archives. Or perhaps the Company's almost complete loss of interest in

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[5] Op. Cit. *Supra*, I, p. 98

Burma after the signal failure of its factories there caused the utter neglect of their meagre records. The many references to this factory from which it is possible to piece together a fairly coherent account of its history, are almost entirely to be found in the Company's Original Correspondence, that great collection of documents originating at any place between England and Japan, and extending over the period 1603-1708, which in Dalrymple's day, as now, could only be consulted in London.

Even there we have surprisingly little direct evidence to go upon. Not one of the letters sent by the Agent and Council of Fort St. George to the Pegu factory has survived. Only four letters, originating in Burma during the factory's existence, are now extant. Three of these—O. C. Nos. 2058, 2069 and 2343—are summarised in Sir William Foster's English Factories in India; the fourth, O. C. No. 2507, a private letter, dated November 6th 1655, from the notorious William Jearsey, then chief at Syriam, to Samuel Sambrook, a friend of his family, in England, is of slight importance, and does not appear in Foster's calendar. We have therefore to rely for most of our information upon the references to affairs in Burma, happily frequent, to be found in the correspondence of Fort St. George with Masulipatam, Surat or London. One or two scattered references lie in obscurity in the Java Papers, which are not calendared in the " English Factories in India ", but I have discovered none of any importance. This is surprising, when one remembers that the Coast and Bay factories in India were subordinate to the Java factory throughout the first half of the seventeenth century.

Before passing on to the next period of Anglo-Burmese relations it is interesting to note that for the mission of Forrest and Staveley to Pegu in 1617 we have, in addition to the Original Correspondence, a further source of information in a paper, written in 1623 by William Methwold, then just returned from Masulipatam, where he had served four years as Agent of the Company's factory.[6] It is entitled " Relations of the Kingdome of Golchonda, and other neighbouring nations within the Gulfe of Bengala, Arrecan, Pegu, Tannassery, etc., and the English Trade in those parts ", and was published by Purchas in 1626 in the fifth volume of his monumental work. This volume, as its slightly variant title—Purchas, His Pilgrimage—suggests, is of a different type from its predecessors, consisting, as it does, of Purchas's own survey of all the papers published in the earlier volumes. Modern publishers have not considered it worth reprinting, and hence, unfortunately, Methwold's paper is comparatively inaccessible and scarcely known. It would be a useful service to historical scholarship for someone to take up the task of bringing out a well-edited reprint of this extremely interesting and valuable paper.

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[6] Ten years later in 1633 he became President of Surat, and in 1650 Deputy Governor of the Company.

When in 1680 Sir Streynsham Master at Madras reopened negotiations with the Court of Ava in the hope of re-establishing an English Factory in Burma, we enter upon a new period of Anglo-Burmese relations lasting until the destruction of the old Syriam factory in 1743. The materials for the history of this phase are mainly to be found in the Fort St. George records. Such of these as relate to Burma at this time do not form a separate series, since the English factory at Syriam never had an official existence as a Company's station, and hence maintained no records of its own. As most of the Fort St. George records covering the period 1672-1710 have now been printed, with adequate indexes to each volume, the difficulties of the searcher have been considerably reduced from what they must have been in Dalrymple's time. From 1710 until Professor Dodwell's excellent Calendar of Madras Records begins in 1740, the Press Lists of Ancient Records in Fort St. George provide a somewhat inadequate indication of the whereabouts of the material. Not only, however, are their notes on the contents of the documents far from satisfactory from the point of view of the searcher for information about the Company's relations with Burma, but they have the added disadvantage of lacking that most necessary aid to research, an index.

One important omission in the Fort St. George records is to be noted. Dalrymple, writing of Fleetwood's mission to Ava (1695) in his "Letter concerning the Negrais Expedition", gives the following explanation of his inability to treat of it in detail: "The Journal of his Transactions was transmitted to Europe in 1697, and I have not been able to meet any detail of them." These documents he afterwards discovered in the India House, and, as I have already mentioned, they appear in the second volume of the Oriental Repertory along with the Instructions issued by Governor Nathaniel Higginson of Fort St. George to Thomas Bowyear upon his subsequent mission to Burma in 1697. What I think must be the original M.S. copy of these documents is now in Volume 18 of the Factory Records Miscellaneous at the India Office. This volume is entitled "Letters, Instructions, Journals, etc., in Mr. Francis Bowyear's Mission from Fort St. George to Pegu and Cochin China, May 1695—September 1697", a misleading title, since Fleetwood's diary and the other documents relating to his mission in 1695 occupy the major portion of the volume, and the Bowyear who went to Cochin China, and Burma appears always as Thomas Bowyear in the records of Fort St. George.

The negotiations which Sir Streynsham Master as Governor of Fort St. George instituted with the Court of Ava in 1680, continued intermittently for nearly twenty years. They never resulted, however, in the official opening of factories in the country. Ever since its abandonment in the days of Cromwell, the Syriam factory had been the constant resort of private traders, chiefly from Masulipatam, who took advantage of Burmese ignorance or complaisance to make use of the privileges originally granted by the Burmese

authorities to the Company. As a result of the reopening of relations between Fort St. George and Ava the Company's control over this private trade was tightened; and although the Directors at home flatly refused to allow the resumption of official trade with Burma, much licence was granted to its servants to exploit the trade of the country on their own account. Governor Nathaniel Higginson, and, later, Gulston Addison, the brother of the essayist, were deeply involved in the Burma trade. The former's private commitments in connexion with this trade were one of the main reasons for the despatch of both the Fleetwood and the Bowyear missions. The latter was chief director of a 'Pegu Joint Stock', the affairs of which had to be wound up as a result of his death in 1709, only thirty days after the arrival of the notice of his appointment as Governor of Fort St. George. It is interesting to note that the measures taken by Fort St. George from 1680 onwards to develop its trade with Burma resulted in Madras becoming, before the end of the seventeenth century, the chief centre of Burmese trade in India, a position previously held by Masulipatam.

The control of Madras over the activities of the private traders in Burma was nominally maintained from 1697 onwards by the appointment from time to time of a "Chief of the Affairs of the English Nation" from among these people themselves. In the twenties of the eighteenth century, when shipbuilding became an important industry at Syriam, patronised for a time by the Company, the Company's agent there was given the title of "Resident". He assumed responsibility for all shipbuilding operations conducted there on behalf of the Company. But he was not in the strict sense a Company's servant: he received no actual salary, and always appears in the Company's records classed as a free merchant. He was really a private broker, specially commissioned by the Company; and before appointment he had to pay down a large sum of security money. He and his predecessor, the "Chief of the Affairs of the English Nation" were permitted to use the old factory site and hoist the English flag. Factory buildings therefore were maintained throughout this period by the private traders at their own expense, and the Company, though unwilling to adventure as a trader on its own account in Burma, maintained some sort of a foothold in the country through its control of the private trade between Madras and Syriam. In 1743 rebellious Talaings burnt the Syriam factory to the ground, and Jonathan Smart, the last Resident, withdrew from the country shortly afterwards. The factory was never reopened. After the collapse of the Talaing attempt to set up an independent kingdom in Lower Burma, when the settlement of the country under the victorious Alaungpaya dynasty rendered possible the resumption of trading operations on a bigger scale than previously, English relations with Burma entered upon their more modern phases. And consideration of these is beyond the scope I have allowed myself in this paper.

English Archives in Burma.

(By G. E. Harvey, B.A., I.C.S.)

1824—52.

British rule extended over Arakan (under the Government of Bengal), and Tenasserim (under the Government of India). Neither corresponded with the other and there are no common records. Letters from both are preserved in the Calcutta Offices. but the bulk are at Akyab and Moulmein. The Arakan records at Akyab consist of nearly 200 volumes M.S. papers; the only print is a poor and slender production entitled " Precis of the Old Records 1823-4 of historical interest in the Office of the Commissioner of Arakan ", publ. Superintendent, Government Printing, Rangoon, 1922. The Tenasserim records at Moulmein consist of nearly 100 volumes M.S. papers; the only print is an admirably arranged precis by Mr. J. S. Furnivall, I.C.S., entitled " Correspondence for the years 1825-26 to 1842-43 in the Office of the Commissioner, Tenasserim Division " publ. Superintendent, Government Printing Rangoon, 1915 and " Selected correspondence of letters issued from and received in the Office of the Commissioner, Tenasserim Division for the years 1825-26 to 1842-43 " publ. *ibid* 1916. The Tenasserim records are in comparatively good preservation; the Arakan records are in a distressing condition—mildewed, ant eaten, faded. Both alike, but especially Arakan, are often unreadable simply because they are written on both sides of the paper, and, a margin being left only on the left hand side of the reverse, the right hand side of the writing on the reverse is bound up. In both alike one letter ends and another begins on the same page, and having read, or at least glanced through, most pages of these 300 volumes, I am still at a loss to discover on what principle the volumes were bound up——————in some few cases indeed they seem to be bound up by subjects, but as often as not papers are bound up irrespective of date and subject simply because they happen to be in one handwriting. Owing to the fact that India often sanctioned the local proposals by simply saying " I am directed to sanction the proposals in your letter No.————dated—————————" without specifying the subject or repeating the proposals, it is usually impossible to tell whether the portentously long proposals submitted under the highly centralised system of Government remain mere proposals or are the system which was put into effect—owing to the total lack of arrangement, referencing and indexing, it is perfectly useless to try and trace a letter under reply. Large masses of the correspondence are trivial; some consists of mere accounts, others of verbose reports in which the magniloquence of the language merely conceals the poverty of thought of the writer who was, as often as not, ignorant of the vernacular. But many of the records are of great value and it is a pity that they are, especially at Akyab, becoming less decipherable year by year.

When the Government of Burma gave me access to them to enable me to contribute to the Cambridge History of India, I promised to do what I could to print some of them; but as may be imagined from the facts above described, I soon found this to be impossible. Before printing them it will be necessary first of all to unbind all the volumes, copy out each sheet which contains the end of one letter and the beginning of another (so that the two letters can be separated and filed in different places), rearrange all letters irrespective of subject simply according to date (the only method, as I have found by painful experience, in dealing with records of this kind), paste a margin on the front side of each sheet so as to save the writing on the reverse from being bound up, and then rebind the whole, year by year. There is a great deal of humble drudgery in such a task, but it is also drudgery beyond the ordinary Lower Division Clerk, and with all due respect to most of the Upper Division Clerks I know, I think even they would be glad of a Senior Officer's supervision. I have thought over the matter and offer to complete the task above described within two months if given two Upper Division Clerks. As to printing, it takes time to get things through the press, and in addition the selection of letters would take time; to precis letters would take longer still and therefore I omit this altogether, but I would undertake to print up the Arakan records and the remaining Tenasserim records in five months if given two Upper Division Clerks. The total cost for re-arranging, rebinding and printing, would be 2 clerks on Rs. 150, for 7 months, Rs. 2,100, add Rs. 400 for contingencies such as racks to hold the heavy volumes of loose papers, total Rs. 2,500; better call it Rs. 3,000, exclusive of printing charges. This sum would give us in Burma the printed record of what the founders of our administration did, and would leave such of the records as remain in MS. in an intelligible and well arranged condition which would justify its careful preservation away from the mouldy and inadequate record rooms of Akyab and Moulmein.

1852—62.

In 1852 British rule was extended to Pegu. The Commissioners of Pegu Tenasserim and Arakan were mutually independent and were subject, Pegu and Tenasserim to the Government of India, Arakan to the Government of Bengal. The Pegu records were kept at Rangoon, the Tenasserim at Moulmein, and the Arakan at Akyab. What has been said above applies here also

1862 onwards.

In 1862 Pegu, Tenasserim and Arakan were combined into a single province of British Burma with headquarters at Rangoon, with a centralised Secretariat where the most important records of all three Commissionerships were concentrated. These records are with few exceptions in MS, until, about 1905, the practice of printing all the Secretariat files, save the most

trivial, came into force. Even so I fear that the MS records in the Burma Secretariat are not in a satisfactory condition——————there is no card index system and even now Government depends very largely on the memory of senior clerks for tracing precedents; the result is that anything more than 15 years old is buried in oblivion. The only index I have come across is "Index of the Records of the Burma Secretariat 1827-91," a printed volume of which only one copy seems to exist; it is not a very scientifically arranged index and very often when one wants an old record mentioned in it one finds that the record either cannot be found or has ceased to exist.

An Account of a Research into Government Records in Burma.

(By L. F. Taylor, M.A. (Cantab.), F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I., I.E.S.)

1. *Introduction.*

It is with a feeling of diffidence that I sumbit this paper to the meeting. I am an Ethnologist rather than a Historian. Having been honoured with a request to prepare a paper, I cast about for a suitable subject, and decided that the best thing to do was to offer an account of my recent research through Government archives for documents recording the customs and beliefs and languages of the peoples of this Province. I understand that a concrete practical experience of this sort possesses some value of its own and its description may not be without interest to the Members of the Commission, particularly if a moral may be drawn from it.

2. *Purpose of the Research.*

My object in making this research may be briefly explained. I am attempting to conduct an Ethnographical and Linguistic Survey of Burma somewhat on the lines of the Ethnographical and Linguistic Surveys of India. For this purpose it is necessary not only to organise Field work but also to assemble and collate all the data and materials hitherto placed on record, both in print and manuscript.

3. *Sources of printed or written information.*

The documents to be inspected are to be found in Government libraries and record rooms, also in public and private libraries and collections. I shall here confine myself to my search in Government Archives. The largest collection is to be found in the Secretariat, but those at Divisional, District and Subdivisional Headquarters are far from inconsiderable.

4. *The Research.*

Permission was readily granted, subject to certain reasonable conditions, to inspect files and records in various offices in the Secretariat, and I was also permitted to remove books from the Secretariat Library. Further I was empowered to correspond with Officers at District Headquarters and to ask them to search for and send to me any files that might contain matters of interest. In the Secretariat itself I was given every assistance by Under Secretaries, clerks and the menials in the record room. Having given these preliminaries I now proceed to describe the Research itself.

My letters to Divisional, District and Subdivisional Officers resulted as follows:—

A. Divisional Offices.—There are eight Divisional Offices in the Province. From three of these I received numerous files and documents, with portions of interest duly flagged or otherwise indicated. It was evident that the Commissioners themselves had taken a personal interest in the matter and gone to a good deal of trouble. In two other instances it was reported that though a search had been made, "nothing of interest" had been found. From what I have learnt from Settlement Reports and other documents dealing with these areas, I am inclined to think that the failure to discover anything interesting is due to the inadequate descriptions of files in the old File books. Two divisions reported that their records were so numerous that nobody could be spared to make a search in them, but that every facility would be granted to me to do so. I inspected the old File books of one of these Divisions and found it of so little assistance as a guide to the contents of the files listed that I can quite appreciate the point of view of the Commissioner. There is a big job ahead of me to search through those records. A final reply from the remaining Division has not yet been received.

A particular request to the Commissioner of Tenasserim Division asking him kindly to search for an important report on the Salons submitted to his office in 1860 produced the information that this document cannot now be traced.

B. District Offices.—Of these, including the Northern and the Southern Shan States, there are 42. Five sent in old files and reports of considerable interest. The Upper Chindwin District alone sending in no fewer than thirty. Sixteen reported that "nothing of interest" could be found. Ten districts avoided a definite reply, and took refuge in such expressions as "no files dealing exclusively with Chins", "only one file about the Linguistic Survey of Burma", "no files devoted to Ethnology" and so on. Three districts reported that they had no time to search through their old records, but that every assistance would be given me to do so. From another no final reply

has been received, whilst Sandoway reports that its old records were lost when the Court House was burnt down in the rebellion in 1890.

It must not be considered that any of these District Officers were unwilling to assist the work of the Survey. On the contrary nearly every one of them made numerous enquiries on its behalf and sent in long and detailed replies. Judging by a casual inspection of one or two District record rooms I can easily imagine that short of opening and glancing through the files themselves they had generally no means of ascertaining whether they contained matters of interest or not. Nevertheless my own experience has been that information is often contained in the most unexpected places and I suspect that quite a lot of interesting matter still remains hidden away.

C. Subdivisional Offices.—My enquiries here were narrower altogether. I wrote sometimes to enquire whether some particular document to which I had found references could be sent to me to copy. The reply was generally to the effect that the document could not be found.

D. The Rangoon Secretariat.—(*i*) I went through the Library first. Besides official publications it contains many works printed and published in the ordinary way. It is very far from being complete, many books of importance are lacking. The older books are often in bad preservation and need careful handling. Nevertheless it was possible to secure a great deal of information from the collection. The catalogue was printed in 1913 and wants bringing up to date. New accessions are recorded on slips of paper. It would offer better facilities to the student if they were entered on cards which are more easily handled.

E. The Rangoon Secretariat Record Room.—(*ii*) My next task was to hunt through files and reports in likely Departments. The mass of documents is enormous and a process of selection has to be adopted. I called for the File books. These vary enormously between themselves in arrangement and value. They cover diverse periods. Some are arranged by years, which in turn are subdivided into subjects. Others include alphabetical indexes to the files throughout a long period of years. In one or two instances only one copy of a File book can be found, the other copies having gone astray. As often as not the title of a file is short and does not sufficiently indicate the contents. It is good enough, while the file is new, for its identification by the clerk who knows it and uses it, but when it becomes an old file and its contents are no longer remembered, the title conveys very little, especially to the student of history who wants to know whether to call for it or not.

My own method was to note the particulars of every file I could discover in the File books likely to be of interest. These were then produced from the record rooms and put out for my inspection. In this way I went through

some thousands of files. I retained those that looked promising for more detailed inspection and sent the rest (the great majority) back to the record rooms. Government Reports, both printed and manuscript, were subjected to a similar treatment. From the files and reports so retained, everything of interest to my work was carefully transcribed.

Certain observations may here be stated. The central record room is a dark tightly crammed place. It seems to be fairly dry, but it is impossible to deal effectively bookworms in it. The files are stocked in vertical heaps which renders it very difficult sometimes to get at the files wanted. Files pulled out forcibly are likely to get damaged. If too many super-incumbent files are moved at once they are likely to upset. If the pile is too high, the top files can only be moved by sliding them over the lower ones, which is a very destructful procedure. The result is that many files are in a damaged condition. Sometimes also I have found the numbering wrong, that is a file bearing a particular number does not agree in its contents with the subject shown in the file list, and *vice versâ* if you do manage to secure the right file, its number differs from that shown in the file list. Many files consist merely of a cover with no contents. Either the contents have been lost or else a file was opened but nothing accumulated in it, in which case the cover might well have been destroyed. And now I come to the saddest part of all. Whilst on the one hand a large number of old files of absolutely no interest or importance have been preserved, a certain number of some interest and importance have been deliberately destroyed. It has been the custom from time to time, to transfer files which are 5 years old or more from a Secretary's Office to the central record room, having first appointed some Officer to look through them to see what is worth preserving and to destroy the rest. Such an officer naturally uses his own private judgment. One result of this procedure has been the destruction in certain years of files containing diaries of the tours of Officers in the Pakokku and Arakan Hill Tracts and elsewhere. Such diaries frequently contain descriptions of local customs and I have derived a good deal of information from them. It is a matter for regret therefore that files containing such diaries should have been destroyed. Finally a few files of interest are missing for reasons unknown and can nowhere be found.

5. *Results.*

It is important that the results of this investigation be briefly indicated. Before I commenced my task and before I managed to secure permission to go through Secretariat and other records, two Government Secretaries had informed me, using the words already stereotyped, that these records contained " nothing of interest ". This, combined with the fact that so many District Officers had taken the same view of things and sent in no files because they could find none of interest, may lead you to expect that my labour must

have been in vain. But the actual state of affairs was far otherwise. Beginning from about 1830, soon after the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim up to the present date were hundreds of files and reports containing the kind of information I was in search of. I found thousands of short notices of local customs, and not a few long monographs upon races whose very existence was scarcely known to the outside world. There were also long vocabularies and not a few grammars. I collected in all nearly 2,000 closely typed pages of materials, sufficient in fact to fill many volumes of ordinary print. The accounts vary, of course, in value and there is necessarily a good deal of overlapping and quotation from earlier reports into later one. But taking all this into consideration the results have more than justified the efforts made to obtain them. The bulk of this material was found in manuscript—frequently in a unique copy—or in reports of which very few copies were printed. Most of it was quite inaccessible to students of ethnology or languages. Without making a personal search such as I conducted they could never have become aware even of its existence. The value of these materials is easily indicated. If you look through such works as Sir J. G. Fraser's "Golden Book", Pater Schmit's studies in Far Eastern language and other recent works you will find plenty of references to Assam and Bengal and Tibet on the one side, and China and the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago on the other, but you will find very few references to Burma. These students could not lay their hands upon the information they wanted and they had to leave gaps in their work. And yet much of this was already upon record in the Archives of the Rangoon Secretariat. Had it been available it would have added very considerably to the value of the books they wrote embodying the results of their researches. I want now to suggest—and this is what I have been leading up to—that our Provincial Archives will prove equally rich in materials for students in other departments of History.

NOTE.—This anticipation has been thoroughly justified. Since the above words were written Professor Hall and myself have made a further search and have discovered numerous documents of importance to students of History. A selection of these has been put out for exhibition.

6. *Reflections and Suggestions.*

The present method of keeping records is of little use to the student. He cannot tell where to look for his materials. What he wants may be mouldering away in some District record room. But he will find in Rangoon no file lists of District record rooms. He must write to various Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners and request them to make a search on his behalf. These officers are busy men. They send for their File books, look through them, find no arresting title and report that their files contain "nothing of interest". This does not assist the student. He goes to the Secretariat and finds that there are numerous departments, but he will be lucky if he finds

anybody in any of them who knows enough about the contents of the old files to put him on the track of what he is looking for. A File book is probably shown him, consisting of dozens or hundreds of pages of small typeprint or even of bad handwriting. The titles of the files are vague and he must choose between selecting a few files that have promising titles or wading through hundreds or even thousands of files to discover what he wants. Such a process is exhausting to the student, it also causes worry and extra work to the Office staffs who do as much as they can find time for to assist him in his task.

What is really wanted is a properly staffed central record office. To this could be sent all the older files from District record rooms, probably much, to the relief of the District Officers concerned. These files, together with the files in the Secretariat record rooms, would be examined and either preserved or destroyed. Those preserved would be carefully indexed, catalogued and arranged and made secure against the ravages of age, fire, damp and insects. Here the student could come, consult the catalogues or requisition the assistance of the record staff and speedily find what he wants. There would be a proper system of checking the delivery and return of documents so that there would be fewer losses than there are to-day. There would be supplementary catalogues showing the principal contents of files still retained in District Offices. There would also be a good library of books and other Government publications. Catalogues of this would be available and these would indicate amongst other things the whereabouts in Burma of scarce works of which the library itself might possess no copy.

Every year each Government Department and District Office would send in all its superannuated files. There would be no indiscriminate destruction. Files would be destroyed in the Record Office alone, after examination by a Committee and in accordance only with a set of well considered rules.

Such a record office is a feature of most up-to-date administrations. In Burma we have valuable records to save. The Tenasserim records go back to the time of the First Burmese War, about 100 years ago. They are preserved in a part of the country where the rainfall is 200 inches per year. They must have suffered a good deal. The Arakan records are also old but if rumour be true their very existence has sometimes been a nuisance to the local authorities so that deliberate destructions have taken place to reduce their bulk. It is certain at any rate that many of them are missing and cannot be found.

The cost of producing these records has been stupendous. They ought therefore to be properly preserved so long as they continue to be valuable. After all their safe preservation for future generation is a sacred trust imposed upon us, and not less so is their availability to the present day student of History. Let us not be as Gallio who " cared for none of these things ".

The Record Room Rules in Burma.

(By J. S. Furnivall, B.A., I.C.S., Retired.)

In the course of my service under Government I had better opportunities than most officers for becoming acquainted with the records of the Province, in English and Burmese.

I was twice connected with the compilation of District Gazetteers and had to undertake researches among old records both in the districts concerned and in the Secretariat. On one occasion I was placed on special duty to examine the early records in the office of the Commissioner of Tenasserim, and the volumes which were compiled in that connection are now before the Commission as exhibits, together with the original documents. It also fell to me to visit many of the Record Rooms of the Province to inspect the records of the Land Records Department.

The work on the District Gazetteers called for enquiries into Burmese records and for one of the districts a selection of the local records has been published and for the other a selection, still unpublished, was compiled. I have also been consulted from time to time with regard to the vernacular records in the Secretariat and was at one time a member of a Committee formed to classify them.

Like other officers I have usually been responsible for the records of my own office, and may have paid more attention to the matter than some whose interest in it had not been awakened by endeavouring to use the records as historical material.

Thus I have had rather exceptional advantages for considering the question of dealing with records both in its administrative and its historical aspects and, when Professor Hall invited me to read a paper before the Historical Records Commission, it seemed that an attempt to set down some of the results of my experience might be useful.

Turning first to the question of official records, I have found that, in general, the earliest records contain much more material of historical value than the records of later years. In the early days much that was worthless was preserved but little of value was deliberately destroyed. It could not be long, however, before exigencies of space called for a selection of the records to be preserved. The rules to that end were drawn up chiefly with reference to administrative requirements and as the chief administrative requirement in this respect is to get rid of useless papers, the Record Room Rules in actual working tend to become Rules for the Destruction of Records, rather than for their preservation. This tendency is, I think, first noticeable in the Secretariat where papers accumulate faster than in the districts, and officers soon found it necessary to devise some means of getting rid of them. When consulting the early records of the Rangoon (or Hanthawaddy) District, I often attempted to supple-

ment the information given in the records of the district office by referring to the correspondence in the Secretariat, but although I found long lists of files which promised to contain valuable information, it proved almost invariably either that the files had been destroyed or that they had been denuded of all papers of historical interest.

The historical value of the local records does not seem to have attracted much interest in Burma until 1919 when the Government of India suggested measures for making official records more accessible to students of history. This led to a visit to Burma by Professor Dodwell, then Curator of the Record Office, Madras, with a view to advising the Local Government on the question of forming a Central Record Office and Library. He recorded a valuable memorandum on the subject and the Local Government submitted proposals based largely on his recommendations. These proposals contemplated the constitution of a Central Record Office under a Curator who should have charge not only of Central and District Records, but also of Vernacular Records. It has not yet proved feasible to give effect to these proposals.

But it was no part of Professor Dodwell's functions to enquire into the rules dealing with the selection of documents for preservation and although his recommendation would improve the custody of records and make them far more readily accessible to historians than at present, the historian would probably find them little worth consulting. A student of the development of the official style of correspondence would find ample material for his melancholy researches in an interminable succession of notes and minutes, and an enquiry into the varieties of official thought might be entertaining and profitable, but any one in search of facts would meet with disappointment. It is an old tradition, dating at least from the Public General Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated the 10th February, 1830 (which is probably among the exhibits here) that " the letters which contain the most useful information and pertinent suggestions or instructions within the shortest compass are the most valuable ". This implies that facts must be eliminated. It would be unfair to suggest that secretaries only feed on pap, but, as busy men, they like facts pre-digested. Thus the student in search of facts would turn for them to the District Records and here also, under the Rules now in force, he would not find them.

The Record Room Rules for District Offices are defective in two respects: firstly, they are illogical and inconsistent; secondly, they neglect the historical standpoint.

For Record Room purposes the papers in a District Office are classed in three categories:

Class A comprises papers which are to be preserved permanently;

Class B comprises papers which are to be preserved for six years;

Class C comprises papers of ephemeral interest.

The different Heads of Correspondence are assigned to different classes; thus, correspondence under the Heads of Establishment (largely office accounts), Officers (including promotions and transfers) and Political (including Durbars) is classed under A; the correspondence classed under B includes the following Heads; Diaries, Agriculture, Education, Markets, Medical (including sanitation), Post Office, Trade, Village Administration, Vital Statistics. Now much of the correspondence under A is of little historical interest, while almost every fact of historical value falls under B.

Officers are further instructed however that the classification must be carried out by files. Files under an A Head of correspondence may be classed, B, and *vice versâ*. But a subsequent instruction, in Rule 307, lays down that " in the case of heads, the files under which are all classed B, the greatest number of years for which space is required (in the Record Room) is six ". Thus, although the rules allow officers to enter papers falling under a B Head of correspondence in the A class with a view to their permanent preservation, no provision can be made in the Record Room for keeping them longer than six years. In effect then, provision is made for the destruction of papers that in the routine application of the rules would be preserved, but no provision is made for the preservation of papers that in the routine application of the rules would be destroyed.

For detailed guidance in classification officers are referred to an Appendix which contains the following instructions. Files must be placed in Class A:—

(*i*) if they contain standing orders on questions of principle or rules or general instructions which have not become wholly obsolete; or

(*ii*) correspondence of *special* interest or importance under A Heads.

They must be placed in Class B if they contain correspondence of importance under B heads.

But nothing is said as to what should be done with files which contain correspondence of special importance under B heads, or with those containing correspondence of ordinary importance under A heads.

I cannot hope that I have made the rules intelligible and plain, but I hope that I have made them as intelligible and plain as possible, and I may now pass on to consider them in their historical aspect. Firstly I would invite attention to one detail that at first sight may appear negligible but is, I believe, of real practical importance when considering the files from the standpoint of the historian. Except in respect of ephemeral papers of the C class no one at any stage passes a considered order that such and such a paper is to be destroyed. The Deputy Commissioner, or other responsible officer, orders that certain papers are to be preserved permanently and others are to be preserved for six years. He is, in effect, passing orders that certain papers shall

be destroyed after six years, but in such a manner as to make him least realise the nature and consequences of his act. If it were laid down that no paper should be destroyed without a positive order to that effect (other than a merely routine order) it is possible that a good deal of valuable material might be spared.

Now I would like to illustrate from the earlier records the working of these rules in later years. It is of some historical interest that the merchants of Moulmein were able to represent in 1841 that "they were not aware of any merchant who had as yet been able to engage in their trade without loss"; that in 1828 the Commissioner sanctioned "the disbursement of a sum of money among the inhabitants of Tavoy for the purpose of contributing to the celebration of the Burmese New Year" and that shortly afterwards the Government of India warned officers that they would be held personally responsible for unauthorised expenditure however trifling unless indispensable; that Sepoys were placed on guard to keep the European soldiers out of toddy shops and that the Chinese proprietors employed the Sepoys to clean the shops for them; that, according to a European, the brandy sold in these shops was of a poisonous intoxicating quality and in numerous instances had occasioned instant death; or, again, the picture of Rangoon in the early sixties when after an enquiry into the improvement of sanitary conveniences it was decided that it would suffice to prohibit any further clearing of the bushes round the town. All these matters fall under B heads of correspondence and would be thought unworthy of preservation at the present day.

Let us turn now to the question of Vernacular Records. Professor Dodwell drew attention to the vernacular records in the Secretariat, and recommended that in the selection of a Curator regard should be had to his qualification for dealing with such records. In that collection there are believed to be upwards of twenty thousand documents, but there is also a large quantity of similar material scattered over the country. Some of these relate to administrative arrangements and others contain records of transactions in land which throw a light on economic conditions before the annexation, going back sometimes for a hundred years or more. These are fast disappearing and of the few collections of records two of capital importance have been lost sight of within the last few years. Of these two collections one was the property of U Tin of Pagan to whom students of the history of Burma owe a debt which it is difficult to exaggerate. In this collection there was a clear proof of the continuance of matriarchy on a considerable scale in Central Burma until quite recent times. The other collection was made during the settlement of Myingyan District and it was unique in showing for one headman's jurisdiction a complete list of all the people living in the charge at three successive enumerations in 1764, 1783 and 1802. It is very desirable that measures should be taken to trace these two collections and also that an attempt should be made to collect and preserve all similar material in the districts. Probably

many people in whose possessions such documents still exist would lend them temporarily on condition of being supplied with printed copies, although it might sometimes be found useful to make a small payment for the privilege of taking copies.

In conclusion, it may be useful to formulate a few suggestions with regard to the preservation of records that may serve as a basis for discussion.

Probably the most important matter is to give effect to the proposals of the Local Government for the constitution of a Central Record Office under a Curator charged with responsibility for all historical records whether in English or the vernacular.

But any such measures will cost money and take time and much can be done now at a comparatively small expense. The first step would seem to be a revision of the Record Room Rules. Any such revision should recognize three classes of documents:—

(*i*) Purely ephemeral papers for annual (or triennial) destruction;

(*ii*) All other papers, except

(*iii*) Papers required in connection with current administration.

Administrative Officers would be responsible—

(*i*) For the destruction of ephemeral papers in accordance with such instructions as might from time to time be issued;

(*ii*) For the preservation of *all* other papers pending their examination by an officer of the Records Department. Administrative Officers might however pick out under the general instructions of Government any papers likely to be required in connection with current administration. The remainder would be examined either locally or in the Central Record Office, and those of no historical value would be destroyed under the orders of a Record Officer.

The Secretariat Vernacular Records to which Professor Dodwell referred have now been made over to the University for custody and classification. If any systematic collection of vernacular records is attempted, as suggested above, these records would presumably be kept together with the existing collection. The University authorities would probably be willing to co-operate in this matter, so that the collection of records can be put in hand without further delay. The relations between the Main Record Office (when constituted) and the University Vernacular Record Office can be left for subsequent consideration. In the first instance it might be found convenient and economical for the same officer to be in charge of both offices.

The Inscriptions of Burma.

(By G. H. Luce, M.A. (Cantab.), I.E.S.)

Mr. Duroiselle is the one person competent to address so distinguished an audience on the subject of the Inscriptions of Burma; I should certainly never have consented to open my mouth on the subject had I not been assured that he was not available.

The best summary of the position six years ago, is contained in the Preface to his most useful inventory—*A List of Inscriptions found in Burma, Part I, 1921.*

These inscriptions—mostly in Burmese, and engraved on stone, though sometimes on bells etc., or written in ink on the interior walls of temples—are almost invariably concerned with religious dedications. None the less they are of prime importance for the study of Burmese history between 1050 A. D. and let us say 1750 (I except the few earlier inscriptions). For four out of these seven centuries they are almost the only contemporary records we possess in Burma, apart from the religious buildings themselves; for supplementary information we have to turn chiefly to China. The style, of the earlier Burmese inscriptions at any rate, is much in their favour; they are simple and matter-of-fact, well dated and without any of the high-flown mythological content of so many Indian inscriptions. Let me quote one typical instance:—

"In 597 *sakarāja, Aṣvina* year, on the 4th day of the waxing moon of Naṁkā, Thursday (sc. July 19th, 1235), King Klacwā ascended the throne. "I never knew my mother. My aunt brought me up, and so I grew. Truly my aunt has been a mother to me." So saying he built a house and gave it me to live in. He gave me also household slaves and fields. I live in the house. I employ the slaves. I eat the fields. It were better, I think, for a pious and wise monk to live in the house than me. With this intent I built a cave-temple; and when it was finished I told (the king,) the future Buddha: "Dear my lord, the house you built and gave your servant is very pleasant. But I thought it better that a monk should live there than we, your servants. So I have built a cave-temple, and the house has become a monastery. And the household slaves and fields you gave your servant, I dedicate." When I told him this, the king commanded and said: "Let my aunt place there a worthy monk." In 615 *sakarāja, Jeyya* year, on the 6th day of the waxing moon of Tapuiwthway, Friday, I installed a monk in the monastery and moved out. Then I dedicated the household slaves and fields . . . . ." Names of slaves and specification of lands follow, and the inscription concludes with the usual curse: "If any one steals the slaves or fields I dedicate, may the great earth be above him and the despoiler beneath; may be cooked in Avici hell!"

Search for Inscriptions.—With the possible exception of the main sites, that is the old capitals, Burma as a whole has not been thoroughly searched for inscriptions. Even at Pagan itself new ones are always turning up. The Archæological Department is insufficiently staffed to be able to depute members of its Staff to make such journeys of reconnaissance as the French, with much less hope of a harvest, have undertaken, time after time, in Camboja and Annam. Large parts of Burma remain, archæologically speaking, practically untouched; and these parts—including as they do all the frontier districts, and almost the whole of the Shan States—are far from being the least exciting. Accessions to the number of our inscriptions have been mainly due, I believe, to the co-operation of district officers who report casual finds to the Department. Rubbings are then taken and sent to the Archæological Office at Mandalay, which is the sole repository. The method in French Indo-China is to send rubbings, not merely to the Hanoi School, but also to the Bibliothèque Nationale, and perhaps also the Société Asiatique, at Paris. Here through lack no doubt of funds and staff, we send no duplicates to London, nor even to Rangoon; the small collection of rubbings at University College has been obtained at the cost, or by the efforts, of the College.

Safeguarding of Inscription-stones.—Once an inscription is found, it is no easy matter to say what should be done with it. It all depends, it seems to me, on the circumstances in each case; and the Archæological Department can be trusted to make the best arrangement which its limited funds and powers permit. If there is anything to complain of, it is simply this, that funds and powers do not always permit the permanently satisfactory arrangement. As a general rule, I think, the less these stones are moved, the better for them. Our best preserved inscriptions are not usually the ones in the museums or the larger collections, but those in isolated and ruined temples at Pagan, sometimes even in the open air of the dry Zone; these, it is true, are visited each day by herds of cattle and horses; but their dung does more to protect, than their hoofs to damage them; and I pity them less than those inscriptions that have found their way into the 'Phayre Museum' or outhouses of the Rangoon Secretariat. The big collection made a hundred years ago by the Burmese king Bodawpaya at Amarapura, has suffered dreadfully in the process; and it is good news to hear that Mr. Duroiselle is taking in hand the task of their proper housing. Yet I am bound to state that it is not always desirable to leave inscription stones *in statu quo*. At the Shwehsandaw pagoda at Prome, I have seen with my own eyes Burmese workmen, engaged on repairing pagodas, pounding their mortar on the inscribed face of one of our most valuable Old Môn inscription-slabs; and the pity of it is that the Superintendent of Archæology was not able, I believe, to do more than remonstrate, since this pagoda, like many others in Burma, is left in charge of local trustees. A factor of considerable weight in deciding what to do with an inscription is the question of accessibility. Most of them are found in or near pagodas; and at some of them footwear is prohibited. Now however distasteful

the practice of unshoeing may be to a European epigraphist, he is not likely to hesitate if he is anxious to verify a date. But when he is faced, as I have often been, by the prohibition to unshoe on the one hand, and the prohibition to go shod on the other, he is placed in a painful dilema; and he cannot help longing that such inscriptions should be removed to a museum or other place more generally accessible.

Editing of the Inscriptions.—Thanks to the initiative of Sir Richard Temple, an attempt was made, shortly after the annexation of Upper Burma, to transcribe and publish inscriptions found at Pagan and in the more accessible parts of Burma. The result, due to successive Archæologists, Dr. Forchhammer and Mr. Taw Sein Ko, is embodied in the six ' elephant ' volumes published between 1892 and 1913. Materials for a seventh exist in the Archæological Office. These six volumes are a piece of sound pioneer-work; but they have many disadvantages. There are no photographic reproductions. All are well-printed in modern Burmese characters; but typographic difficulties prevented the retention of many of the old forms; so that for linguistic purposes the work is almost useless. There are hardly any footnotes, and brackets are very sparingly used, with the result that it is usually impossible to distinguish the certain, the probable and the doubtful. The arrangement, as was inevitable, is haphazard—sometimes geographical, sometimes chronological—according as the inscriptions turned up. Mr. Duroiselle has done a great service to the student in listing them chronologically, so that it is now possible, with the *List* at one's elbow to resolve some sort of order out of chaos. One other serious disadvantage is that these volumes are now out of print and practically unprocurable. Several of them I have even failed to find in the British Museum.

Translations.—The only one yet translated into English is the first, and perhaps the best—*The Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, translated by U Tun Nyein in 1899. It was a plucky effort, but unsatisfactory; difficult passages (which abound) were skipped; notes were quite inadequate; transcription of proper names unscientific.

Epigraphia Birmanica.—Such was the position when Mr. Duroiselle took the matter in hand. It is to him chiefly, I think, that we owe a sound system for editing the inscriptions of the province. The plan of his *Epigraphia Birmanica* is to give accurate transcriptions in Roman character according to the international system, careful translations shirking no difficulties, photographic reproductions, ample notes, and sometimes glossaries. The one omission, perhaps, is transcriptions in modern Burmese; typographic difficulties probably prevented this at the outset, but I have reason to believe that those difficulties are no longer insurmountable. Up to now five parts, divided into three volumes, have appeared; and they are confined almost entirely to the Old Môn inscriptions of the province. The work is wholly admirable; and

Mr. Duroiselle has found a sure and brilliant coadjutor in Dr. Blagden, the pioneer in both Old Môn and Pyu. I need say the less about these, the oldest written languages of Burma, since they have been, or are being, dealt with so faithfully by these scholars; I will only suggest that Dr. Blagden should be called upon to complete his splendid labours on Old Môn by producing a dictionary and grammar of the ancient language, which will not only be of great value to linguistics, but also make these inscriptions more accessible to the student of history.

Burmese Inscriptions.—Great progress has been registered in Old Môn; but the same cannot, I fear, be said of the editing of the Burmese inscriptions, which form of course the bulk of the epigraphical material. 1457 inscriptions, including some in Pali, are given in the *List*; but there must be several hundreds more as yet unlisted. Of all these, only one, the Myazedi, has up to now been worthily edited. Apart from paucity of workers, there is no special difficulty in the way. The old and the modern languages are far closer in Burmese than in Môn; closer, I should say, than the language of Chaucer is to modern English. Old Burmese script offers very little trouble to the modern educated Burman. The Departments of Oriental Studies and History at Rangoon University turn out yearly Honours students competent and ready to embark on epigraphical research-work. But the material rests inaccessible, not merely to scholars in Europe and India, but to a great extent even to students in Rangoon. The University has undertaken the publication of a selection of the inscriptions for use as a text book; and it will not be long, I trust, before every Burmese graduate will have read some specimens at least of his oldest literature. But this is not enough for the research-student in history. He must have, not some, but *all* of the relevant material at his disposal. And the fact that he has not got it is a grave default in the present system.

A proposal is now up before the University which offers, I think, a partial solution of the problem, based on the example set by the French Government of Indo-China in dealing with the inscriptions of Camboja. The Sanskrit inscriptions of Champa and Camboja have long ago been edited with reproductions in heliogravure; but this is an expensive process. Not content with this, M. Finot is at present engaged in publishing photographic plates—by a much cheaper process (white on black)—of all the inscriptions of Camboja, as the first step towards editing them. Editors of *Epigraphia Birmanica* should not of course be hustled in their editorial work; but meantime there is no reason why the public should be kept waiting for the Plates. Moreover the purely photographic work could be done more cheaply as a whole, than piecemeal for each successive volume. The proposal, then, is that a competent photographer be engaged to settle for a while at Mandalay, in touch with the Archæological Office, and photograph rubbings of all the original inscriptions of Burma; the plates to be published in portfolios, with mere

identification-marks printed at the foot of each plate. The whole work should not take much more than a year.

It is not a complete solution of our problem. The collection and diffusion of rubbings must certainly continue; and steps to make the stones themselves more accessible may have to be taken. But at least the proposal offers the historical student, both here and elsewhere, some means and some incentive for doing research work into Burmese history without the haunting suspicion that as his material is incomplete, his conclusions will probably be wrong.

List of Works referred to.

(All published at the Government Press, Rangoon).

1. *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava.* 1892.
2. *Inscriptions Translated by U Tun Nyein.* 1899.
3. *Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda.* 2 vols. 1897.
4. *Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma.* Vol. I, 1900. Vol. II, 1903.
5. *Original Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya and now placed near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura.* 1913.
6. *A List of Inscriptions found in Burma. Part I.* 1921.
7. *Epigraphia Birmanica*—
   - (*i*) Vol. I, Part I (1919). The Myazedi Inscription—Burmese and Pali faces ed. by Mr. C. Duroiselle, Môn and Pyu faces by Dr. C. O. Blagden.
   - (*ii*) Vol. I, Part II (1920). Old Môn Inscriptions I—VIII, ed. by Dr. C. O. Blagden.
   - (*iii*) Vol. II, Parts I and II (1921). The Talaing (Môn) Plaques on the Ananda temple, Pagan, ed. by Mr. C. Duroiselle.
   - (*iv*) Vol. III, Part I (1923). Old Môn Inscriptions IX—XI, ed. by Dr. C. O. Blagden.
   - (*v*) Vol. III, Part I (in the press). Môn text of the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions, ed. by Dr. C. O. Blagden.

Indigenous Records of Burma other than Inscriptions.

(By Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B.Litt.)

It is impossible within the limits of this paper to do justice to the contents or the variety of indigenous records other than inscriptions. The Bernard Free Library has for many years been collecting Mss from all over the province, and most of the Mss on Exhibition belong to the Library. Mss are

generally in the form of palm leaves (usually written 9 or 10 lines to a leaf) or of thick paper folds called parabaiks. The parabaiks are generally black in colour and contain from one to as many as 64 leaves. Shan parabaiks are mostly white.

A short description of the Pali and Burmese Chronicles is given in the introduction to the Glass Palace Chronicle Recently two Pali Mss were lent to the Bernard Free Library by the head monk of Pegu. They are the Chronicles of Jambudipa and of Ceylon. The former treats of the religion of the Buddha in India and the latter mostly of Burmese relations with Ceylon on religious matters. The main interest of the Pali Mss lies in their value as religious documents. The Pali Text Society of London, which, having completed the laudable task of editing the Buddhist Scriptures in Roman Script is now engaged in making known their contents through English translations, never failed to consult or collate the Pali texts written in Burmese characters. The Burmese Mss are of especial value to translators, since in them may be read the different views on abstruse points of Buddhism as held among the line of teachers since the introduction of Buddhism into Burma.

Mention must be made of the Mss of Buddhist law books "Dharmashastras", 36 of which were consulted by the late Kinwun Mingyi when he made his "Digest of Buddhist Law." The Mingyi has given a very useful account of each of them fixing the date and authorship wherever possible. Most of the law books are to be read only in Ms. Their contents should be thrown open to the public and especially to students of law and of history by means of critical editions, translations and annotations. It is important that we should know exactly how much Buddhist law owes to Hindu law and how much to custom and usage. A comparative study of the law books is sure to add to our knowledge of particular points of law. For instance the Pyumin law-book, one of the oldest of the law-books defines *Kittima,* not as an adopted son as is generally held, but as a son of affinity closer in relationship than the adopted son. Equally important for the history of the literature of law are the *Pyattons* or legal decisions by various judges and ministers under the Burmese régime. One of the most famous is the *Pyatton* of Mahapyinnyagyaw, the Lord of Chittagong who lived towards the beginning of the seventeenth century. The *Pyattons* of Judge Yezagyo, who was a judge in Bodawpaya's time have just been published with notes and introduction by the Burma Research Society in the Text Publication Series No. 8. *Pyattons* are also valuable as literary works.

Historical Mss which are most urgently in need of examination are perhaps the Talaing Chronicles. Talaing is the oldest literary vernacular of Burma (and perhaps of all Indo-China) and forms an important member of the Mon-Khmer family of languages. A careful study of the Mss will yield many interesting facts about the history of Lower Burma. The Talaing

Rajavamsa, or the history of kings has been edited and translated with introduction and footnotes by Mr. R. Halliday in the Journal of the Burma Research Society, Vol. XIII, Part I. The same scholar has also translated a portion of Lik Smin Asah in the same Journal, Vol. VII, Part III. Much information may be gathered about Talaing historical Mss from his introduction to the latter work. There are many such works that await the scholar and historian. One Ms gives an account of the 57 kings of Thaton ending in Manuha and of his capture by Anawrahta of Pagan. Saint Gavampati and the hero Rajadirit, Aungzeya's conquest of Hanthawaddy, letters between Siam and Pegu, between the Taroks and Anawrahta, Shin Sawbu's flight from Ava to Hanthawaddy, Kyanzittha's exploits at the storming of Thaton--these and other incidents may be read on the palm leaves of the Mss.

Some hundreds of black Parabaiks have been lent by Government to University College for the purpose of making a catalogue when they were in the Secretariat, they were studied by U Tin, K.S.M., A.T.M., who has classified them into ten Departments: *e.g.*, (1) Appointment, (2) Legislative, (3) Ecclesiastical and Education, (4) Military, (5) Judicial, (6) Customs and Revenue, (7) Agriculture, (8) Public Works, (9) Correspondence, (10) Remuneration. A large number consists of *Sittan* or Settlement Records. An idea of what a *Sittan* is like may be gained from the specimens which have been printed and translated in the pages of the Journal of the Burma Research Society (Vols. VI, 3; VIII, 1 and IX, 1). Those that I have myself studied form a curious mine of information about the social and economic conditions of the people. The oldest of them go back to the year 1637 and the latest come down to King Thibaw's time. Perhaps the most interesting information given by the *Sittans* is about the position of women. The headmen of some villages were women, and when they died the post went not to the son but to the daughter. The headman himself assumes different titles according to the locality. Then there are the *Ameindaws* or Royal orders and notes on history. The wide range of interest possessed by these Records may be shown by a few remarks. We read about the seven ways in which women tied their hair, the duties that must be observed by the King's bedroom attendant, the ceremonies observed at the birth of a king's son or daughter, the prices fetched by the rubies of Mogok together with the twelve names of the most precious stones, rules and regulations for attendants of elephants and about Bandula's quarrel with the East India Company. We read of a trial by ordeal which consists in dipping the finger in molten lead and then pricking the swollen part with a pin. We learn that people who sold women were punished with slavery, that Superintendents of jails who were addicted to drink were dismissed from the service and that any official who cut his hair was heavily punished. One Record gives details of the uniform worn by secretaries and clerks and the pay received by Governors of towns. Another gives a list of Sawbwas who must come to the capital at least once a year to pay homage. Many another interesting extract may be given to show the amount of information that may

be gained by a study of the Records. Just one more instance will suffice. One Record by Shwebo Min says that there were 2 kinds of *Thwe Thauk, i.e.,* men who show their loyalty by drinking blood. One group consisted of 50 men and the other group of 40 men. The 50 *Thwethauks* were entitled to a seat on the king's right hand and were chosen only from among the relatives on the chief queen's side. They were called *Canda Vamsa, i.e.,* men of the lineage of the moon. The 40 *Thwethauks* who were entitled to a seat on the king's left hand were chosen only from among the relatives on the king's side and were called *Suriya Vamsa, i.e.,* men of the lineage of the Sun. It is interesting to note that the chief queen occupied the South Palace and that the right hand indicates south. Now we read in the old inscriptions of Pagan of men who were called *Lek-ya* and *Lek-we, i.e.,* the Right-hand and the Left-hand. It thus seems probable that the institution of the *Thwethauks* who sat on the king's right hand and the left hand dates from the days of Pagan.

The First Burmese War and the Madras Army—A Narrative.

(By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.)

I.—*Introductory.*

The Burmese Government did not know much of international affairs except through bazaar rumour and through the tales, usually anti-English propaganda, of Armenian and Mohammedan merchants who hated the East India Company's trade monopoly. The French Admiral Suffren had indeed told his government that Burma was the country through which the English might be attacked with most advantage; but Burma never succeeded in getting into real communication with France, though she sent embassies to Indian kings with a view to making a combined attack on the English. The Burmese King talked in 1813 of making a pilgrimage to Buddhagaya and Benares, attended by 40,000 men; and in the period 1807 to 1823 he sent several missions consisting of nobles and Brahmans who went as far as Delhi and collected Buddhist sacred books and relics. The English missions which visited Burma from 1795 onwards when Captain Symes went over to Rangoon, were more political embassies than commercial missions but undertaken on a large scale with lavish expenditure. His successor, the Rangoon political agent, Captain Cox, first made Government realise the futility of any embassy to the Burmese Court whose strength and sanity had been greatly exaggerated by Symes. The later missions of Captain Canning, in all three visits of his to Burma in 1803, 1809 and 1811, could not make King Bodawpaya (1782—1819) realise the dignity and power of the Governor-General at Calcutta, treaty with whom he considered to be below his dignity. The King claimed

Bengal far west beyond Calcutta, because he was successor to the Rajahs of Arakan who had at various times ruled over Chittagong and had even raided Murshidabad and Calcutta. "The Burmese lived in a land which was geographically isolated. Nobody from other lands came to them, except a few ship-men and some tribal immigrants; nor did they themselves visit other lands, for their population was so small that it could not fill even their own country. They lived in a world of their own."[1]

Bodawpaya died in 1819 and was succeeded by his grandson Bagyidaw (1819—37) who, though possessed of some nice qualities, was fickle and irritable and moreover guided by men of low origin. He commenced his reign well enough, shifted his capital to Ava, sent a mission to Buddhagaya, and probably waited for an opportunity to make an alliance with any of the hostile Native Princes of India, which however did not come. But prompt measures were taken to enforce Burmese supremacy in Manipur which led to British operations to take Kachar under their own protection and to support its rightful Raja Govindachandra.

As early as 1794 some robbers from Arakan took refuge in Chittagong. The Burmese marched a body of 5,000 men into British territory and refused to withdraw until the delinquents were given up. The robbers were surrendered and this was followed by Colonel Symes' mission to Ava, which resulted only in a report in which the envoy over-estimated "the population of Burma by 400 per cent. and the sanity of the court by considerably more", seeing everything superficially and *couleur de rose* and thus misleading the Government. Cox's account was so very different from that of Symes that Government thought he had perhaps made some mistake; and they wrote to the Burmese King saying that they regretted that the envoy did not give satisfaction. The second mission of Symes in 1802 was not followed by a book. The later missions of Captain Canning were equally futile; he was exposed to much insult and danger, being threatened with arrest to be held as a hostage for the delivery of some Arakanese rebels who sallied out occasionally from Chittagong to raid Burmese territory.

The surrender of the Arakanese rebels was again and again demanded by the Burmese, culminating in the 2nd letter of the Raja of Ramree demanding the cession of Ramoo, Chittagong, Dacca, and Murshidabad to which the Governor-General replied by the letter noted above and which was never disowned by the Burmese King. The entry of a Burmese force in two columns, one from Assam and the other from Manipur—into Kachar and its collision

[1] Page 290 of G. E. Harvey—*History of Burma*, with a preface by Sir R. C. Temple (1925). This book gives specimens of the correspondence which passed between Burma and the Government of India for a generation—among them being one from the Governor-General, dated 22nd June 1818, to the Viceroy of Pegu, included in H. H. Wilson's "Documents illustrative of the Burmese War" (Calcutta 1827). The Burmese pursued an equally vigorous policy in Assam which was occupied by an army under Maha Thilawa who made demonstrations on the English frontier (1821).

with the British were almost simultaneous with the ambitious march of Maha Bandula towards Chittagong over the dispute as to Shapuri Island which lay on the British side of the main channel of the Naf River, the acknowledged boundary of the two states (Jan. 1824). The British Government explained its motives to the Government of Ava in a communication on the 24th February and in a public proclamation declaring war on the 5th March; but these were only answered by an arrogant letter from the Burman Governor of Pegu expounding the views of his king. The pacific and conciliatory attitude adopted by the English Government so long had only tended to increase the insolence and rapacity of the Burmese whose war appetite had been whetted by their recent victorious campaigns in Assam in which the famous Maha Bandula[2] had distinguished himself and who were now free from Siamese enmity which had engrossed much of their attention till 1822. The war was popular with the whole community, not only with the soldiers and the nobility, but also with the common masses. "It was not the King who led the people, but the people who led the King into war. For long he had been a moderating influence, hesitating to accept the advice of his commanders who thirsted for fresh victories."[3]

II.—*Operations during 1824.*

The first operations of the English took place in Sylhet and Assam. The Burmese gained a victory at Doodpatli forcing the English troops to retire with a severe loss. But Colonel Morine penetrated by the end of March into Assam as far as Gauhati and took quiet possession of the province. In the Chittagong district however the Burmese worsted and slew Captain Norton, commanding in that quarter. This last produced a temporary panic in Calcutta; but the enemy did not advance nearer than Ramoo (to the south of Chittagong).[4]

The Calcutta Government planned a considerable expedition by sea which should attack the maritime territories of the Burmese at a vulnerable point and thus effect an entire change in the operations. The forces of the expedition were made up of 2,175 fighting men from the Bengal Army with 20 gunbrigs and schooners, and two divisions from the Madras Army of nearly 9,000

[2] "He was pre-eminent in stratagems of a type which was devastating against enemies of his own class; and in the management of Burmese levies, no light task, he evinced real talent. He was just, self-sacrificing, honest to an unusual degree and unlike the court he was willing to learn by experience . . . . . He was an imperialist of the most aggressive type; yet it is unjust to regard him as responsible for the war of 1824: he did indeed force it on; but in advocating it he was merely the mouthpiece of the entire people." (Harvey—*History of Burma*—p. 301.) Like his great hero Alaungpaya, Maha Bandula's fame was got by victories, and he obtained his results by "using methods known to every energetic Burmese commander". He was born about 1780 in the Monyua district and came into prominence under King Bodawpaya.

[3] J. Crawfurd—*Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava* (1834—2 Volumes), Vol. II, appendix; pp. 71, 119, and 123 quoted by Harvey.

[4] W. F. B. Laurie—*Our Burmese Wars and Relations with Burma* (2nd Ed.), 1885, p. 21.

men[5] under the command of Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell who had distinguished himself in Spain, with Brigadier-General Macbean in charge of the Madras force, and Major Canning as the Political Agent and Joint Commissioner with the Commander-in-Chief. Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, who had been corresponding with Lord Amherst on the question of the Madras contribution to the expedition and on the general issues of the war and the objectives of the expedition, was very solicitous about placing the expedition in such a condition as should enable it to move in every direction with a moral certainty of success. He however thought very lightly of the military prowess of the Burmese and regarded their petty initial successes as but mere accidents—thinking that the alarm which prevailed even in Calcutta was not at all explicable.[6] In all his letters he was against the conclusion of any armistice till after the enemy should have been thoroughly humbled.

It was Munro alone that reposed absolute confidence in the loyalty of the Indian people at that time. " While apprehensions prevailed elsewhere of commotions and conspiracies, and a cry was raised for more troops to supply the place of those employed at Rangoon, Sir Thomas Munro uniformly maintained that there existed no ground of alarm; and even the Mutiny at Barrackpore failed to convince him that the force already embodied was not fully adequate to preserve the tranquillity of the country."[7]

The place at which the English expeditionary forces met was the port of Cornwallis in the Andaman Islands where the troops arrived on 3rd May 1824. From here Sir Archibald Campbell sailed direct for Rangoon, sending one detachment against the Island of Cheduba and another against the Island of Negrais. The fleet arrived at the mouth of the Rangoon River on the 9th and stood up the river opposite the battery of the King's Wharf on the 11th. A sharp cannonade drove the Burmese authorities out of the town, and the houses of the city were taken possession of by the landing force along with a large but indifferent quantity of ordnance. The Islands of Cheduba and Negrais were captured at almost the same time.

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[5] The component elements and equipments of the army are given in detail in E. Thornton—*The History of the British Empire in India* (1843), Vol. V, pp. 19-20.

[6] Letters that passed between Munro and Amherst from February 1824, quoted in pp. 95—143 of Vol. II of the Rev. R. Gleig's *The Life of Sir Thomas Munro* (1830).

[7] *Ibid*; pp. 145 and 152. He wrote to Mr. Sullivan, dated 11th July 1825—" We have sent on foreign service beyond the sea from Madras, five regiments of European infantry, two companies of European artillery, a battalion of pioneers and above one thousand *dooly*-bearers and, we have relieved the Bengal subsidiary force at Nagpur ". Again, writing to Mr. Wynn, dated 5th January 1826, Munro said—" I have left India as naked of troops as it can safely be; and if I have committed any error it is rather in having sent away too many than too few. But I have not acted without fully considering the state of the country, and all the chances of disturbance; and as I find that we must either weaken ourselves a little more than is prudent, or expose the army in Ava to failure from want of reinforcements, I have not hesitated to support Sir Archibald Campbell to the utmost of extent of our power ".

The setting in of the rainy season and some disagreements that unfortunately took place between the naval and land forces as well as the difficulty of procuring boats and skilful pilots to carry the armament up the rivers made the position of Sir Archibald uncomfortable in the extreme; while it would have been dangerous to have ventured from up the Irrawaddi unless the co-operation of the land force could be secured which could be done only by cleaving the way through some hard fighting. Thus for six months, from May to November, British operations were confined to Rangoon and its vicinity; their ultimate success depended upon their compelling the enemy to retreat into the interior and then following them which would hang " not so much on the decisive advantage gained in any one action, as on the continued judgment and skill which regulated the whole system of our military tactics ".[8] In the attack on Kemmendine, four miles from Rangoon, by the Grenadiers Company of H. M.'s 38th Regiment and the men of H. M. S. *Liffey*, the enemy's stockade was stormed with great intrepidity and carried with some loss. The Burmese, shut in their stockaded encampment and thrown into confusion by the impetuosity of the British fire, had to fight until they were cut to pieces. Some days of quiet followed the operations of Kemmendine; the enemy abandoned every stockade in the immediate vicinity of the town; their new general began a fresh policy of desultory warfare and formed a cordon round the British position. Sir Archibald tried his best to break this cordon; and in one encounter as many as ten stockades were captured in the course of one day and the enemy general killed. But the Court of Ava would not be affected so long as the English operations were confined to the vicinity of Rangoon (which was only a town of Pegu, one of the conquered provinces of the Burman Empire); and no thoughts of peace would be entertained by it. Hence Sir Archibald, still unable to proceed up the river, had recourse to the plan of capturing some of the Burman ports on the eastern shore and fitted out an expedition under Lieutenant-Colonel Miles which in the course of a few months captured Tavoy, Tenasserim and Mergui which brought in the whole of the Tenasserim sea-board under the British control. It was now that the forces suffered terrible sickness.[9] During this time operations continued at the several points of the northern frontier, on the borders of Assam and in Kachar and Manipur.

All this time the Burmese engaged the main force with night attacks on pickets; the English fared badly on one occasion when Colonel Smith at the head of some Madras troops advanced against Kykloo, 14 miles from Rangoon, and had to retreat, though the post itself was soon afterwards captured. In these engagements the Madras Pioneers greatly distinguished themselves.[10]

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[8] Laurie—*Our Burmese Wars* (p. 15).

[9] Sir Arthur P. Phayre—*History of Burma* (1883), p. 240: " The troops endured this trial, before which ordinary hardships of a campaign were nought, with admirable fortitude ".

[10] Major H. M. Vibart—*The Military History of the Madras Engineers and Pioneers* (1883, Vol. II; p. 81).

In the months of October and November there was comparative peace. An expedition was directed against Martaban under Colonel Godwin which took possession of the place with little trouble and where the English got a vast quantity of ammunition. These operations on the fringes of the Burmese Empire were undertaken principally with a view to maintain English prestige and to weaken the enemy on all sides. To a certain extent they were successful, especially in Assam and Tenasserim; but in Arakan British interests were less prosperous as seen in the failure of Captain Norton at Ramoo. The main interest of the war thus centred in the expediion of General Campbell.[11]

These successes on the frontiers were marred by a defeat or two. The subsidiary operations on the fringes which were undertaken from the defensive standpoint, resulted, as noted, in the establishment of British authority over a considerable portion of Assam; but in Arakan Captain Norton was defeated in the defence of Ramoo; and the withdrawal of British force from Sylhet to protect Chittagong which was threatened after the English defeat at Ramoo enabled the Burmese to enter again Cachar. This was followed by events of an indecisive character in which neither party gained any advantage; and the English had to suspend active operations after a time owing to the unhealthy nature of the province.

The Burmese King resolved to collect resources for a great struggle; and he recalled the armies that had been sent into Arakan and Assam. He sent a big army under Maha Bandula whose reputation had been greatly enhanced by his partial successes in Chittagong.[12] He now set out for Donabew with a large fleet of war-boats and a great quantity of military stores. His object was to drive the English from their position at Kemmendine and ultimately force them into their ships. He made his appearance before Rangoon in front of the British position on the 1st of December and threw up the usual entrenchments with extraordinary rapidity.[13]

The English position at Kemmendine was vigorously assaulted several times on the 1st day and succeeding days, but was very bravely maintained,[14] "with signal gallantry and admirable effect," by the 26th Madras Native Infantry and a detachment of the Madras European regiment. The 18th

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[11] Detailed attention is not paid here to these subsidiary operations as the Madras forces did not engage in Assam and Arakan.

[12] Maha Bandula was possibly dreaming of an expedition into Bengal and his retreat from Arakan certainly relieved the inhabitants of Calcutta from considerable anxiety and enabled the quick British occupation of the region which followed.

[13] This is described very vividly by Major Snodgrass in his *Narrative of the Burmese War* (2nd Ed. 1827), pp. 101—104; as appearing to the English to be the work of magic or enchantment.

[14] The letter of Sir Archibald Campbell describing the operations says:—"For six successive days they tried in vain every effort that hope of success and dread of failure could call forth, to drive the brave 26th and a handful of Europeans from this post. While tremendous fire-rafts (described by Snodgrass in his *Narrative*, p. 105) and crowds of war-boats were everyday employed in the equally vain endeavour to drive the shipping from this station off the place". (Dated the 9th December 1824 and quoted in full in Laurie's book, p. 33.)

Madras Infantry burst through the enemy's entrenchments on the left, even on the 1st December, "with a spirit that did them honour, carrying all opposition before them". For the first few days the enemy continued their approaches and annoyed the British posts by frequent attacks. On the 5th, Sir Archibald determined to take the offensive and ordered an advance in two columns on their position; and in this the 3rd Madras Native Infantry greatly distinguished itself. On the 7th a simultaneous attack by four columns on the enemy's right, centre, and left resulted in their rout, abandonment of their entrenchments and flight into the jungle, leaving a large quantity of ordnance. So gallant was the behaviour of the Sepoys that Sir Archibald wrote of them: "Never did troops strive to obtain the palm of honour better than they, to rival their European comrades in everything that marks the steady true and daring soldier."

Maha Bandula quickly recovered from his defeat, rallied his scattered forces, returned to a formerly occupied position at Kokeen which he admirably fortified and entrenched "with a judgment in point of position such as would do credit to the best instructed engineers of the most civilised and warlike nations." The English took that position by a furious assault in which the Madras regiments again greatly distinguished themselves. On the same day (15th December) a part of the naval force captured a number of the enemy's war-boats. After this Maha Bandula retired with his shattered army to Donabew; and the English for the first time found themselves in an undisturbed possession of their base of advance.

III.—*The Course of the War in 1825-26.*

The English General determined on an advance upon Prome, the second city in the Burman Empire; and in order that he might have no obstruction in his rear, he sent an expedition against Siriam, an old Portuguese fort, and took it with great ease. He also routed an advance division of the enemy forces stationed at Thantabain on the Lain river equally easily. The English advance was to be in two columns, one to move by land under the immediate command of Sir Archibald Campbell and the other under General Cotton to proceed by water. Still another force was detached under Major (later General) Sale to occupy Bassein. The water column came to Donabew where Maha Bandula was strongly stockaded with 15,000 men, but failed in carrying off the second defence of the enemy, apparently from "some deficiency of steadiness in the attacking party." Sir Archibald had to hurry up with his column to Donabew after crossing the Irrawaddi with great difficulty (25th March 1825). For several days there were skirmishes of a desultory kind before the stockades until the death of Maha Bandula[15] from a rocket led to

[15] His military capacity is estimated highly by Major Snodgrass (*Narrative;* pp. 175-77) and he is likened to the Swedish Charles XII and compared with the clever African Chief Betewayo by Colonel Laurie (pp. 44 and 48).

a panic and evacuation of the place by the Burman troops on the 2nd April. This was the greatest misfortune which befell the Burmese and was the real turning point of the war.

The English Army continued its advance to Prome by rapid stages, after having been reinforced by a column of reserve troops from Rangoon and a number of elephants. There was no interruption of this march except for the arrival of two messengers from the King intimating the willingness of the Court of Ava to conclude a peace, which was likely enough a ruse for the sake of gaining time. Prome[16] was easily occupied on the 25th April without the enemy firing a single shot and leaving in the fort a large quantity of artillery and huge supplies of grain.

The English stayed for several months at Prome in consequence of the setting-in of the monsoon and the heavy inundation of the country. Measures were taken to restore the confidence of the people who slowly returned to the city. A small corps of observation was sent out for the purpose of clearing the interior of the Prome region of the military bands which infested it and oppressed the inhabitants. It marched against Tonghoo, a walled city to the north-east; and finding a mountainous country beyond which were forests, it moved on to Meady, sixty miles above Prome on the Irrawaddi finally returning back to headquarters.

The Burmese King made great exertions to collect a new force; and an army of 20,000 men advanced to Pagham Mew, Melloon and finally to Meady, before an armistice was proposed and accepted;[17] but the Burmese were not prepared to cede any territory or give any pecuniary compensation while the English General regarded the discussions as being only tedious and frivolous. After the armistice ended on November 2nd, the Burmese pushed their army to the very gates of Prome, with a resolve not to risk a general engagement, but to proceed by the slower, but more certain, method of blockade. It was resolved to attack them at once. Their lines extended for several miles from the river to the east. Their left was stockaded in jungles; their centre was entrenched on the inaccessible hills of Napadee, and on the river side they had several heavy batteries on a commanding ridge of hills. On the 1st of December the British attacked the enemy's left and carried off by assault their position at

[16] "But for the cowardice of the enemy, Prome must have presented an almost impossible barrier to the progress of the British army. By nature and art it was rendered so favourable that in the judgment of Sir Archibald Campbell ten thousand steady soldiers might have defended it against ten times that force" (Thornton; *History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. V, p. 57).

[17] Sir Archibald Campbell declared that the Court of Ava should abstain from any interference in Kachar, Manipur, and Assam, give the last region over to the British and pay 2 crores of rupees as an indemnity, the province of Tenasserim being retained till its payment. The Burmese commissioners modestly requested that the British would quit the country "without making any stipulations for their own benefit and leave their claims to the generosity of their King". The conference which took place at Neoun-ben-zeik was arranged with most scrupulous regard to the presentation of the formal dignity of the Burmese commissioners and of their king. (See Snodgrass' *Narrative*, pp. 215-7.)

Simbike; on the next day Sir James Brisbane at the head of the fleet, cannonaded the heights of the enemy's right from the river; and the heights of Napadee were carried off in that and the next four days—probably the most arduous duty the army had yet undertaken. By the 5th of December the English victory was complete, and every division of the Burmese army had been beaten and dispersed in all directions.

General Campbell now determined to move on to Ava sending one division circuitously to attack the enemy's fortified positions along the river, while another division proceeded along the river and with the flotilla. By the end of the month the army reached the river opposite Melloon about half way between Ava and Prome. The Burmese King had at last to realise the gravity of the situation. He sent a flag of truce and a commissioner from Ava to treat with full powers. The negotiations which took place on the 1st and 2nd January 1826 ended in the Burmese agreeing to cede Arakan and the provinces of Yeh, Tavoi, and Mergui and to pay one crore of rupees.

The ratification of the treaty was not received by the agreed date. The British commissioners insisted an immediate hostilities, except on condition of the Burmese evacuating Melloon within 36 hours and retiring upon Ava. Hostilities recommenced on the 19th and in a few hours the troops landed and erected the British standard on the walls of Melloon.

The English army advanced towards Ava, but was met in a few days by Dr. Price, an American missionary, and Mr. Sandford, an English army surgeon, both of whom had been taken prisoners a few months before and were now sent on their *parole* by the Burmese King to ascertain the lowest terms upon which peace could be made. The English General renewed the terms offered at Melloon and promised not to advance further than Pagahm Mew for 12 days.

The Burmese King resolved to make one last effort, pathetically appealed to his subjects, representing himself and the immortal dominion of Ava as tottering to their fall and collected about 20,000 men to whom he gave the name of "Retrievers of the King's Glory." They took up their position at Pagahm Mew and were easily dispersed by an English attack on the 9th of February. In this victory Generals Campbell and Cotton simultaneously attacked the enemy's right and left, while the 43rd Madras Native Infantry under Colonel Parlby advanced on the bank of the river to prevent the enemy throwing troops in the rear.[18]

The English general proceeded with his advance to the capital when he was met by Messrs. Price and Sandford carrying the assent of the King to the proposed terms. But suspecting a ruse for procrastination as usual in

[18] The official report of this engagement as given by General Campbell is a little different from the *Narrative* of his Military Secretary, Major Snodgrass (Thornton, Vol. V, p. 79).

this, the advance of the army was not stopped by General Campbell till he reached Yandabo, four days march from Ava, when he was met by the Burmese commissioners accompanying the two mediators.

The main provisions of this important Treaty (of Yandabo) need not be enumerated here except that the Burmese agreed to abstain from interfering in Assam, Kachar and Jaintia, to cede the four provinces of Arakan, as well as Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui and Tenasserim, to receive a British resident in Ava and depute a Burman resident to Calcutta and to concur in a commercial treaty.

IV.—Conclusion.

Thus the first Burmese War[19] ended which gave a better scientific frontier to British India to the eastward. In the prosecution of the operations the army, and in particular the Madras Companies, played their part heroically well; and in Parliament, on the 8th May 1827, Mr. C. W. Wynn moved in the House of Commons, followed some days later by Lord Goderich in the Upper House; "that the thanks of each House be given to the officers and men engaged in the late glorious successes in India." The Government of India published an order, dated 15th May 1827, No. 94, to mark their high sense of the indefatigable exertions of the Madras Pioneers throughout the war and particularly of Jamadar Andoo to whom were awarded special honours and a pension. Both the Pioneers and the Engineers were highly commended in the general orders.

The Burmese War has been severely criticised both in the manner of its commencement and in the details of its operations. But, as in the case of Nepal, war must have come about sooner or later with the aggressive and self-opinionated Burmese Government; with regard to the conduct of the operations, however much the expedition to Rangoon and the march to Ava were desirable, the army ought not to have been despatched in almost entire ignorance of the circumstances of the country and without any adequate preparations for securing supplies.

The want of better information and more complete arrangements contributed to much of the hardships suffered by the troops. But this could have been got over as the war was not a sudden and unexpected occurrence and as previous missions had been despatched to that country which could

[19] The Royal Chronicle of the Burmese thus naively describes the war—in the years 1186 and 1187 (of the Burmese era) the *kula pyu* (white men) fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prome and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the King from motives of piety and regard to life, made no preparations whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent large sums of money in their enterprise, so that by the time they reached Yandobo, their resources were exhausted and they were in great distress. They then petitioned the King, who in his clemency and generosity sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back and ordered them out of the country," as quoted by Laurie, p. 60.

have been asked to furnish materials. The American Missionary, Mr. Judson, who came to Burma in 1813, gives a very good account of the surprise created in the Burmese mind by the British troops and their bravery and successes.[20] He also tells us of the difficulty the Burmese found in understanding the forbearance and moderation of the victors. In England the Burmese war was not at all popular, nor were its course and fruits looked on with satisfaction. The impression of the effect of the war on some parts of British India has been noted already.

Two Forgotten Mutiny Heroes.

(By Prof. J. N. Samaddar, B.A., Patna.)

In the course of his official tour, Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., I.E.S., O.B.E., C.I.E., the Director of Public Instruction of Bihar and Orissa, saw the graveyard at Chatra in the district of Hazaribagh (Chotanagpore), where were buried 56 men of Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment of Foot and a party of Sikhs on October 2, 1857, in action against mutineers of the Ramgarh battalion. There is no inscription at all in the graveyard and Mr. Fawcus requested me whether any light could be thrown on the question. He also drew my attention to the Hazaribagh District Gazetteer, p. 172, where occurs the following:—

"In the course of the Mutiny Chatra was the scene of a small but locally important engagement between the rebels and the British troops. The Ramgarh Battalion had mutinied at Hazaribagh and Ranchi, and though the Sepoys had received very little local support they were strong enough to compel the retirement of the government officials, and for two months they were masters of the situation. They then decided to leave the province by way of Chatra and join Kuar Singh at Bhojpur. At Chatra they were attacked by a mixed force consisting of a portion of the 53rd Regiment of British troops, and a detachment of Rattray's Sikhs, numbering in all 320 men. Apparently they were to some extent surprised; but they took up a strong position on the brow of a hill, and resisted stubbornly; for in the orders conferring on them the Victoria Cross Lieutenant J. C. C. Daunt of the 70th Bengal Native Infantry and Sergeant Dynon of the 53rd Foot are stated to have acted with 'conspicuous gallantry in capturing two guns by pistolling the gunners, who were mowing down the detachment with grape.' The rebels lost 150 men killed, and all their guns and ammunition; and

[20] Thornton; Vol. V, Note on pp. 92—96. The documented narrative of H. H. Wilson and the account of Major Snodgrass who confines his account to the operations of the army under General Campbell are particularly valuable sources. Sir Arthur Phayre pays a high tribute to the Burmese soldier who was more than a match for Asiatic troops led by Europeans and only succumbed to the European soldier. (*History of Burma*, p. 250.)

those who scattered and escaped ceased to be a military force. There is a graveyard in Chatra where are buried the Europeans who were killed in this fight ".

I lost no time in availing myself of the offer to elucidate the facts and immediately sought the advice of my friend, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L., the worthy Keeper of the Imperial Records and in the course of our investigation we came across with the three following documents:

Nos. 83-8.

Message received by Electric Telegraph, from Sherghatty, Saturday, 3rd October, 9-23 p.m., from Lieut. Stanton.

To—Calcutta.

To—Secretary to the Government of India.

Following message received from Major English at Chuttra, I had a severe engagement yesterday with the Ramghur Battalion, defeated them, taken four guns complete and forty-five cart loads of ammunition. I have had forty-five men killed, and wounded, and am not strong enough to escort what I have through the Jungles surrounding me. Filled as they are with disbanded sepoys, and plunderers I take upon myself to order you to send me one hundred men if possible, Telegraph to Calcutta when you have done so. With reference to the above I have only twenty-five Sikhs here. Shall I detain a detachment of Europeans and march on Chuttra to assist in bringing in the ammunition.

(Sd.) L. E. W. O'BRIEN,
3rd Assistant-in-Charge.

CALCUTTA,
ELECT. TELE. OFFICE;
The 4th of October 1857—Despd. 8-25.

B

No. 89.

Message received by Electric Telegraph, from Chuttra, viâ *Burhee, 4th October, 9 a.m., from Major English.*

To—Calcutta.

To—General Mansfield.

I came upon the Ramghur Mutineers at nine o'clock this morning, encamped on the west side of the Town after the enemy, their Guns are captured

and their whole camp. We have taken four Guns and Waggons complete, ten elephants and much ammunition. Our loss is severe, thirty-six of Her Majesty's 53rd and 6 of the Sikhs killed and wounded, all officers are safe, the Men and Officers behaved nobly.

(Sd.) L. E. O'BRIEN,
3rd Assistant-in-Charge.

CALCUTTA,
E. T. OFFICE;
4th October 1857—9 p.m.

Secretary to the Government of India,
Army Department.

No. 152.

Message received by Electric Telegraph, from Chuttra, viâ *Burhee, 7th October, 8-30 a.m., from Major English.*

To—Calcutta.

To—General Mansfield.

I have moved my camp to the east of the Town on a fine open plain. Major Simpson buried seventy-seven of the enemy yesterday, and reports that above one hundred are lying wounded in the Jungles and that the mutineers have dispersed. Two Subadars were brought in yesterday and hanged this morning. For the sake of the wounded I shall return to Hazarebagh by easy marches. The road is through Jungles in many places and my party very weak to escort the line of the wounded, carts, Guns and Waggons. One hundred men would be of great assistance, the Guns will have to be dragged across many swamps and the road is very difficult; send me without delay Hospital Bedding and clothing for thirty men, hospital comforts and two casks of Rum, some treasure has been given over to Major Simpson.

(Sd.) L. E. W. O'BRIEN,
Pro Head Assistant-in-Charge.

CALCUTTA,
E. T. OFFICE;
7th October, 1857.

The Imperial Record Department Archives also gave us the information that the following men belonging to Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment were killed during the action at Chatra on the 3rd October, 1857, *viz.*:—

1. Private William Cullen.
2. Private Patrick Burke.
3. Private John McAndrew.

Privates James Ryan and William Ashton subsequently died of their wounds.

The paper in the Commissioner's office which is given below gives us a vivid account of the engagement, while the attached plan places before us the plan of the battle, though the position of the 2nd gun of the Mutineers has not been shown. The Commissioner's office paper, however, does not mention the heroism of the winners of the Victoria Cross which we gather from Philip A. Wilkins' "The History of the Victoria Cross", London, 1904 and which is as follows:—

John Charles Campbell Daunt
(Lieutenant, afterwards Lieut-Colonel),
11th (late 70th) Bengal Native Infantry.

Decorated for conspicuous courage at Chatra, Bihar, on October 2, 1857, when in action against the mutineers of the Ramgurh Battalion one-third of the detachment had been mown down by grape-shot from two guns, when Daunt, in company with Dennis Dynon (V. C.) charged at the gunners, shot them down and captured both pieces.

Lieutenant Daunt was also specially mentioned for his gallantry on November 2, 1857, when he pursued the mutineers of the 32nd Bengal Native Infantry. Driving them across a plain into a thick cultivation, he, with a small party of Rattray's Sikhs, followed and attacked them, being himself dangerously wounded in the struggle. The mutineers greatly outnumbered Daunt's little force, and the ultimate preservation of any of the Sikhs was due to his courageous conduct and skilful leading.

Dennis-Dynon
(Sergeant),
53rd Regiment.

Associated with Lieutenant J. C. C. Daunt, V.C., in heroically dashing at and capturing two guns from the Mutineers of the Ramgurh Battalion on October 2, 1857, at Chatra, Bihar.

Copy of the paper from the Commissioner's Office.

[From—Hazaribagh district (old correspondence), 1856-57, Vol. VII (spare copy).]

To—Captain E. F. Dalton,
Offg Commissioner, Chota Nagpur.

SIR,

My demi-official notes of the 30th, 1st and 2nd instant will have informed you of the advance of the force under Major English on Chittara and the defeat of the mutineers Ramgurh Battalion with detail of artillery and capture of 4 six-pounder guns on the 2nd of this month.

2. The mutineers had taken up a strong position on the west of Chutra with the whole of the city on their east, the narrow streets of which could not be passed through without endangering our small force. The road leading to the town is over a bridge and to the north of the bridge is one succession of deep rice fields which it would have been difficult to pass with rapidity. After Major Smyth had drawn up a rough plan of the town and approach, it was determined by Major English to make the attack rounding the south of the city and coming opposite the position of the mutineers at the old jail, etc.

3. On the advanced guard passing west of the jail, the main body of the mutineers were discovered on the heights and skirmishers were immediately sent off by Major English to the north across a narrow belt of rice ground, and soon got into action with the rebels. The first Enfield rifle ball discharged at a distance of 900 yards, it was supposed, took effect and was immediately followed by round shot from the enemy fired in the direction of our approach. But as the main party of the Europeans and Sikhs had nearly crossed the rice ground marked A when the guns opened, providentially the fire did not do much harm. One ball, however, shot dead the horse, an assistant apothecary attached to the Europeans was riding, when the owner a mere lad proceeded on foot manfully with the advancing column.

4. The Europeans on crossing the rice ground, went by the east of the village of Kullotea, and Lieut. Earle commanding the Sikhs with myself and a party of men proceeded through the hamlet which brought us in proximity to the position of the mutineers and on emerging from the lane of the village we found the Europeans hotly engaged with the rebels at the topes of trees marked B and on looking towards the old jail I observed a considerable number of the mutineers rushing up in skirmishing order and advancing on the rear of our attacking party. The attention of the Sikhs was immediately directed to this threatened danger, and taking up a position in the grove we fired steadily upon the enemy, killing and wounding some amongst the former, a Jemadar with a blue coat whose body I found the following morning with a sepoy at the spot I saw them when aimed at.

5. After the main party of the Sikhs had beaten off this attack from the south-east, they joined the attack on the two remaining guns which were pouring grape shot etc. upon us as we passed through the grove. It was there many of the Europeans and some of the Sikhs fell and it was not until the determined intrepidity of Lieut. Daunt, who by a rush on the left flank of the remaining gun, captured it, that the mutineers discontinued to serve it, as after many of their party must have been killed and wounded by Enfield rifles, yet the shot of this gun was still directed at our advancing party within the grove, and every round was tearing away the branches or ploughing up the ground in our vicinity, and had there not been the trees to afford partial cover to the men, the loss on our side must have been much greater.

Our killed and wounded aggregate 56 men, 46 Europeans and 10 Sikhs; of these the wounds of some of the Europeans are very severe, four of them having undergone amputation.

6. The conduct of the troops under Major English in the battle on the 2nd instant was beyond all praise, the cool intrepidity of the detachment Her Majesty's 53rd with every officer attached to it well seconded in the attack by the Sikhs under Lieut. Earle, and the excellent arrangements of Major English and his staff rendered success certain, and although it has been achieved at considerable loss, yet the object gained has been great and I trust will ensure the speedy tranquillity of the whole of the province of Bihar, if not add considerably to the security of the country from the Son to Calcutta.

We changed our camp this morning from the west of the town to this place, which is two miles off, in consequence of the offensive smell in the vicinity of camp where the engagement took place. There were 77 bodies of the mutineers buried in one pit on the 3rd instant and the number of wounded must have been very large. Several of the wounded and absconded, both native officers and men, have been apprehended and brought in by the rural police and villagers since the battle, and numbers of the mutineers have abandoned and thrown away their arms which have been picked up and brought unto me.

7. Jai Mangal Pandey and Nadir Ali, Subadars of the Battalion both present in the engagement of the 2nd (the latter wounded) were taken in the jungle and brought to me on the 3rd. These two principal mutineers were tried under the provisions of Act XVII of 1857 and sentence of death, passed upon them by my court in my capacity of Commissioner under the above law, was duly carried into effect this morning on the very ground where they had made such an obstinate resistance to the British troops two days previously. The confessions of these men recorded in detail are valuable and copies will be forwarded for the use of your office. From these it would appear that several of the Jagirdars, Lalls, or relations of the Raja of Chota Nagpur were cognizant, if not implicated in the proceedings of the

mutinous sepoys. One of them, the Lall of Sulgee Jagatpal Singh in particular, appears to be a son-in-law of Kooar Singh and to have held correspondence with that individual who would seem to me to have deputed 8 of the sepoys of the 2 companies 8th Regiment Native Infantry (who mutinied at Hazaribagh) to attend upon the Lall and to keep up the excitement and spirit of rebellion already engendered in the Ramgarh Light Infantry by the machinations of the Jemadar Madho Singh.

8. One of these men of the 8th I am led to believe was shot in the engagement of the 2nd. The mutineers had entertained a number of recruits, men from Bhojpur, Mugga or Bihar, and other parts, as also some discharged sepoys, and were actually teaching these with blank cartridge, the morning we approached Chuttra. Their ignorance or want of belief in our approach was most fatal to them as a party was actually plundering in the town at the time we were rounding the southern extremity of the city and within two gun shots of us. These men could have scarcely rejoined the main body before we attacked them and only knew of our approach from the top of a house, into the upper story of which they had proceeded for the purpose of looting the owner's property.

9. The Jemadar Madho Singh, I fear, has escaped. Some say he went with a detachment into the town either to look out for our advance, or with some other object—may be plunder. Bhola Singh Burail of Chorea seems to have been a zealous coadjutor of the mutineers in plundering the mahajans of the town, and was killed by the people of the place with several sepoys on our attack.

10. The Thakur Bishwanath Singh with Ganpat Roy, former dewan of the Nagpur Raja, seem to have fled in the commencement of the fight; the Thakur's palanquin was brought in to me the following day from the jungle; two servants of the Barkagarh Thakurs have also been apprehended, and are forwarded to the Senior Assistant Commissioner, Lohadz, for investigation into their case.

11. The amount of ammunition recovered has been very large, so much so as to excite suspicions that ammunition from other quarters may have been under charge of the mutineers. I would strongly recommend enquiry to be made as to what ammunition was actually in store at Doranda when the mutiny broke out.

12. I have placed my seal on five boxes containing or supposed to contain treasure, two of these with Chub locks for want of keys we have been unable to open. In the other boxes there was found a good deal of small coins, pie, pice, etc., etc., some rupees; also a chest of opium, all which I imagine must have belonged to the Lohardaga treasury, (I observed an office seal in one of the boxes), and on reaching Hazaribagh I will have the whole carefully examined and duly brought to the credit of Government.

13. I have sent on a party in advance to prepare the road to Hazaribagh for the guns etc., etc., we have captured, and Major English proposes to reach that station by easy marches as soon as possible to get the wounded under shelter.

14. I would have submitted this report earlier but as you may suppose under the circumstances detailed, have had little time to myself. Since the engagement the providing several requisites for about 50 wounded is no trifling task, and the means of moving them from a place which has been plundered and rifled by a mutinous battalion is no easy matter. However I trust our efforts will result in the admission of Government that we have all endeavoured to do our duty.

15. I annex a small sketch map of Chuttra and the position of the mutineers which will elucidate and explain the first portion of this communication.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Sd.) J. SIMPSON,

Principal Assistant Commissioner of Hazaribagh.

PRINCL ASST COMMR'S OFFICE,
HAZARIBAGH DIVISION,
CAMP KALAPAHARI NEAR CHITRA;
The 4th October, 1857.

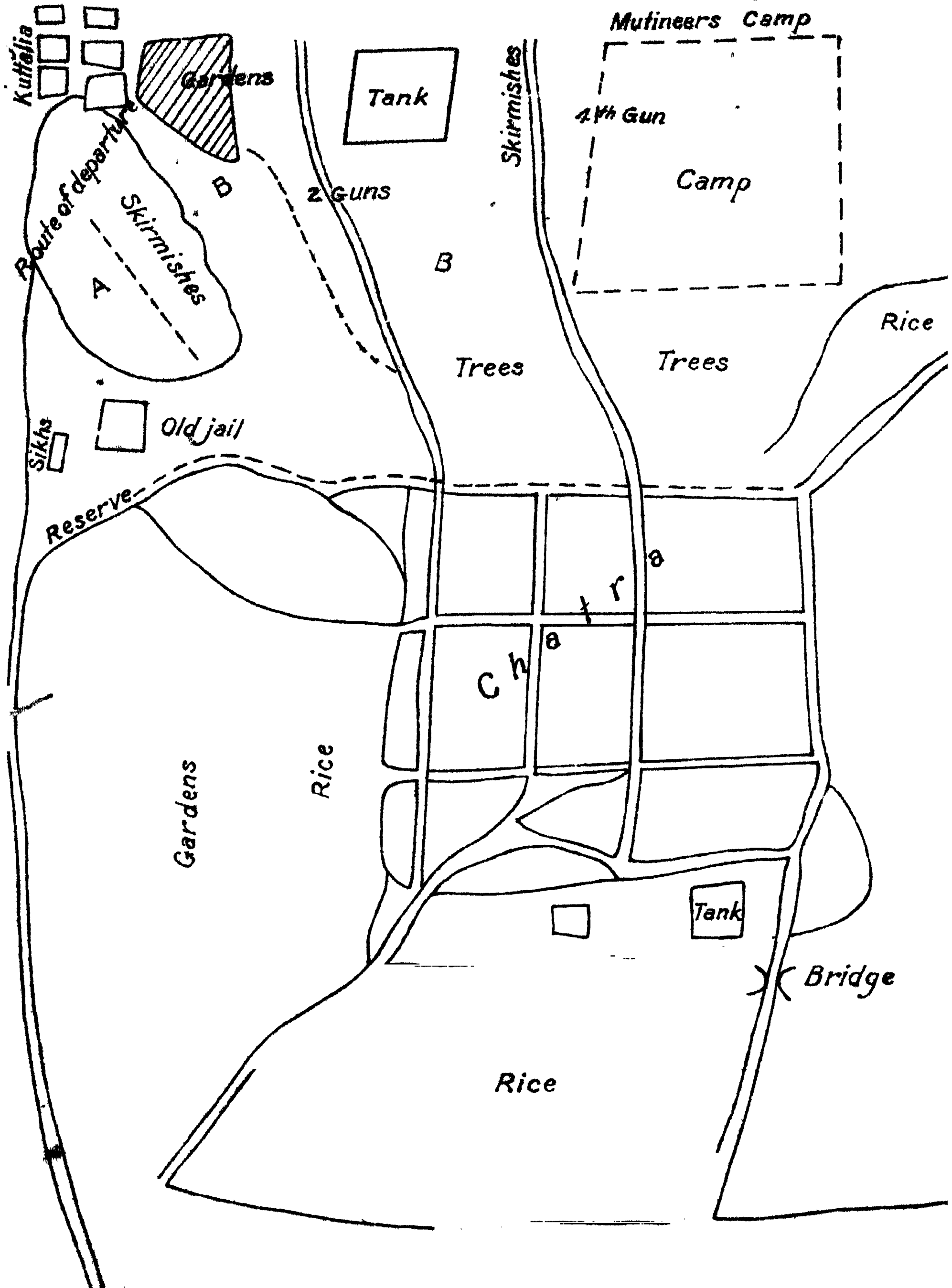
Such in short is the plain and unvarnished history of two soldiers who sacrificed their lives for their king and country. No comments are necessary, no remarks are needed, but to them are very well applicable the pregnant words of Gray:—

" Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air ".

My object in bringing the above little facts to the notice of the learned historians assembled here and through them to the authorities concerned is that proper and systematic arrangement may be made so that proper tombstones may be erected and placed to perpetuate the memories of such heroes who for their king and country sacrificed themselves on the fields of glory.

Plan of the Battle.

WEST



Diplomatic Relations of France with Burma.

(By Mons. A. Singaravelou Pillai.)

About the beginning of the 17th century a new ruling dynasty arose in Ava which subdued Pegu and maintained the supremacy during the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries. The Peguans or Talaings thus humiliated by the Burmese, revolted against them (1750-1) and having captured the capital of Ava made the Burmese king, with all his family, prisoner and reduced the whole country to submission (1752). Binnya Dalfa, the King of Pegu, came back in triumph to his capital with his captives leaving his brother Appo Ratsa (more correctly Alaong B'hourra, a devotee of Buddha) to rule over the conquered territory. During the reign of this Pegu King, the French established their Factory at Syriam.

After the defeat of the aforesaid Burmese King, Alaungpaya (Alompra), ruler of the town of Motso-bo, planned the deliverance of his country. He at first attacked the Peguans with small detachments; but when his forces increased he suddenly advanced and took possession of their capital in the autumn of 1753. In 1754, the Peguans sent an armament of war-boats against Ava but were totally defeated by Alompra. In the same year Prome was besieged by the King of Pegu who was again defeated by Alompra and the theatre of war was ultimately transferred from the Upper provinces to the mouths of navigable rivers and the numerous creeks and canals which intersect the low country. Alompra, who ultimately got the victory, founded on the ruins of Sigoun-terra the famous port of Rangoon. In these sanguinary wars, the French sided with Peguans and the English with the Burmese. Thus the first diplomatic relations of France with Burma commenced.

About this time Dupleix, perhaps the greatest Frenchman who ever set his foot on the Indian soil since the 18th century, turned his attention towards Burma to establish a trade in teakwood with that country—a trade which was then very prosperous and lucrative in Burma. With this object he began to negotiate with the Burmese for establishing French colonies in Burma and further requisitioned for a great amount of wood from Pegu for the construction of a ship. This intimate connexion of the French with the Peguans was, however, looked upon with much misgivings by the English. The following extract from the work, "*The World-Japan, Indo-China, etc.*, by Dubois de Jancigny, will illustrate the point:—

"The English attributed at that time to the French Government the intention of taking advantage of the advice of Admiral Bailli de Suffren who had many a time fixed upon Pegu as the corner through which the English may be attacked in India with more advantage." Unfortunately the unexpected recall of Dupleix to France in 1754 frustrated all his plans regarding the establishment of French colonies in Burma.

However, in spite of all adverse circumstances, the gradually increasing profits of the French trade in Burma, their earnest desire to establish colonies there and also their keen desire to maintain permanent friendly relations with the Burmese, made the French send some merchantmen and men-of-war to the port of Rangoon, which were enthusiastically welcomed by the Burmese. Since that period several French ships visited Burma periodically and on each occasion their captains were given a fitting reception by the Burmese.

In 1817, the "Chevrette" the state warship of Captain Fabry which had on board one of the most distinguished naturalists, Mr. Charles Bellanger, arrived at Pegu and the whole crew received a brilliant reception.

On the 30th March 1840 there came to the same coast another ship, the "Fortune," under the command of M. Leconte. The Governor of Rangoon received the captain and his retinue with the honours due to their rank. He showed them all the big buildings of the town and introduced them to the chief European residents. On the 2nd April at ten o'clock in the morning captain Leconte and the regimental officers landed. Military honours were accorded to them and a sumptuous feast was also arranged.

After witnessing a performance of the dancing girls the captain and his retinue returned to their ship with the same honours with which they had been received during the landing.

The King Mindon-Min granted to Mr. Vossion, a Frenchman and the Vice-Consul for France in Rangoon, the forests of Chindwin as a reward for his great and loyal services.

In order to prove that our relations have not yet ceased with Burma, I give below the translation of a Burmese letter regarding the mutual relations between Burma and France.

Translation of the Burmese letter.

In the name of the very mighty Emperor of the land of the rising sun, Master of the King of White Elephants, Master of the world, whose feet resemble the flowers of the water-cress, before whom feet-joined and bowing my head, I who reside in the town of Rangoon in the province of Hanzavady and rule over all the southern parts of the noble Empire of my Master and Sovereign in the capacity of his very noble, and very high Plenipotentiary with the title of Mahamenlahrajah, who, on the arrival of Captain Staig, that went from here to Pondicherry, and returned thence, have been informed that you are in good health, and that the town of Pondicherry is flourishing and calm and am very glad and satisfied, declare and make it known to his Excellency Mr. De Melay, the Governor of the French settlements in India, that the Burmese and the French Kingdom have, from the memorable times of our Sovereign's great-grandfather and grand-father, been always in mutual relations of amity and friendliness, that the merchantmen of both the nations have

visited our ports and that this communication was cut off for more than twenty years, till in the month of Plazo 1189, there appeared before the port of Rangoon Mr. Fabre, Captain of the the warship of His Majesty the King of France. At the moment of his arrival, not having forgotten our old friendship, I received him with great pleasure and joy, favouring and granting to him and his crew all the things and favours which could be granted. Now, if some French ship or sloop comes to any port or place in our royal Burmese dominion, according to the laws of friendship, I shall welcome and favour them. I send you through Captain Staig, in friendship and for your use, two silk *Paxchos*, two big *Boxes* and two *cups* which were made in our country and I request you in all friendliness to accept them for your use.

Written on the 15th day of the full moon of the month of Tabaun, 1193.

In 1857 His Majesty the King of Burma sent M. Girodon known under the name of "General d'Orgoni" as an ambassador to the French Government in Paris. At the close of his mission he liked to take a few Frenchmen to Upper Burma to found establishments of trade and workshops of construction, manufacture of arms, foundry, etc., and conclude a treaty of alliance between these two courts.

In 1872, the King of Burma sent an embassy that should go to Italy, France and England, the object of which was to lay down the basis of a trading treaty with both the first nations. For that purpose, several young Burmese had, for many years, been sent to Paris and London to study there the occidental languages.

Father Abbona contributed a good deal to the despatch of the embassy.

M. de Remusat prepared a treaty of trade which was voted by the Assembly and the ratifications of which should be exchanged at Mandalay through the medium of the French Envoy.

That embassy left Marseilles in 1873; after having paid a visit to the Viceroy of India at Agra (where he was then) and after having been there warmly welcomed went to Delhi and Benares and embarked for Rangoon, the headquarters of British Burma.

On the 20th December, after a very kind and hospitable reception of the "Commissaire-General," the mission left for Mandalay.

On the 23rd the ship cast the anchor at Minhla; in Rangoon, there had been an interview between the embassy and Mgr Bourdon, Bishop of Upper Burma, who accompanied them up to Mandalay. He was also amongst the embassy which prepared the treaty of Paris. His name was in Burma: Meng-la-Zeya-Thou-Tsa-Rai-Dan-Guy (noble Lord placed in possession of high dignity of writing letters).

On January 1st, 1874, the king granted a first interview to the French ambassadors. On the 24th, the French government made with that country

an agreement which was approved by the National Assembly in its first meeting of 18th July.

Remembering the sympathy that the French had always shown to Burma, His Highness the Prince Mingoon came and settled at Pondicherry, on the 30th June 1884 and his family came and joined him on the 20th July 1884.

His grand-mother died here in his palace in the European quarters (in which the office of Best & Co. is now held) on Thursday, 11th November 1886, at the ripe age of ninety-three.

Her obsequies took place on the 30th November in the midst of a large concourse of people.

The prince after having spent five or six years at Pondicherry went away to Saigon where he died in 1925.

The objects of the French were short-lived, but the friendly relations have remained for ever.

ANNEX.

Relations of France with Burma.

Commercial treaty of the 24th January 1873 between France and Burma.

The President of the French Republic and His Majesty the King of the Burmese, wishing to maintain between France and Burma relations of amity and trade which they intend consolidating, in case of need, by conclusion of further arrangements have nominated, for that purpose as Plenipotentiaries, namely:—

The President of the French Republic, Mr. Charles Remusat, Minister of Foreign Affairs, etc.,

His Majesty the King of the Burmese, Mengyee Maha. Sayatho Kennoon Mengyee, his Ambassador,

whom, after having been in correspondence with each other of their full powers found in the good and due form, agreed upon the following articles:—

First Article.—The French in Burma and Burmese in France may reside freely, move on, carry on trade, buy lands, sell and cultivate them, erect buildings therein, everything submitting to the laws of the land. They will enjoy full and entire protection to their families and properties as well as all the advantages and privileges which are or will be granted to the citizens of the most favoured nation.

The French Missionaries will enjoy in Burma the same favours and immunities as the missionaries of any other nation.

The French travelling in Burma for the sake of Science, Geographists, Naturalists and others, will receive from the Burmese authorities all help they will be in need of to carry out their explorations. The Burmese will mutually enjoy the same facilities.

Article II.—The goods that the French will import in Burma and export therefrom, and, mutually, the goods that the Burmese will import in France or export therefrom will not pay others nor higher duties than if they were imported or exported by the natives or by foreigners belonging to a most favoured nation. The Burmese products in France and the French products in Burma will be dealt by in the same way as the most favoured similar foreign products.

The Burmese Government, wishing to encourage the development of commercial exchanges between France and Burma engages not to fix on the exchanged articles any customs duty, the rate of which would exceed five per cent. of their value. After the payment of the said customs duty, the goods in any hand that may pass will no longer have to sustain neither tax nor change of what sort so ever.

Article III.—The two Governments recognize themselves mutually the right of having a diplomatic agent residing near each of them, and nominating consuls or consular agents wherever the interest of the natives would require. These Agents may raise the flag of their country and they will enjoy in their persons, as well as in the accomplishment of their duty the same protections and the same immunities and prerogatives which are or will be subsequently granted to the agents of the same rank of the most favoured nation.

Article IV.—The Burmese Government desirous of facilitating as much as it lies in its power, the establishment of the French in Burma, it is agreed that the Burmese authorities should not interfere with the strifes between Frenchmen, to be always reported to the Consul for France, and that the strifes between the French and the Burmese will be tried by a mixed court consisting of the Consul and a high-ranked Burmese Officer.

Article V.—In case of death of a Frenchman in Burma or a Burmese man in France, the properties of the deceased will be handed over to his heirs, and, in default of them, to the Consul for the nation, who will take charge of sending them to the parties interested.

Article VI.—This treaty will remain obligatory from year to year, as far as one of the two governments will not have given notice a year before its intention of having the effects of the treaty ceased.

Article VII.—It will be ratified and the ratifications will be exchanged in the space of one year or sooner, if it can be done. It will be put into force as soon as this exchange will happen.

Article VIII.—In witness hereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have set their hands and seals in this treaty.

Made in double copies, in Paris, the 24th day of January 1873, corresponding to the Buddhist era 2416 to the common era 1234, piatho 11th of the Waning Moon.

(L. S.) Signed—REMUSAT.

(L. S.) Signed—MENGYEE MAHA SAYTHOO
KENNOON MENGYEE.

AGREEMENT.

The President of the French Republic and His Majesty the King of Burma, wishing to consolidate and increase, through a special constitution, the advantages resulting for both the nations from the treaty of amity and trade signed in Paris, on the 24th day of January 1873, have nominated for that purpose as Plenipotentiaries, namely:—

The President of the French Republic;

Mr. Jules Ferry, Deputy President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Foreign affairs;

and His Majesty the King of Burma;

Mingghie Min Maha Zaya Thin Gian, Myothit Myosah Atwin Woon Min, the first Ambassador, Minister for Home Department of the Palace and the Privy Council, Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Burma,

who, after having been in correspondence with each other of their full powers, found in good and due form, entered into the following articles:—

Article I.—That there will be constant peace, perpetual friendship and full and entire freedom of trade and commercial navigation between the French Republic and the Burmese Empire.

The "ressortissants" of the two states will not pay, by reason of their trade and industry, in port, town, place whatsoever of the respective countries whether they settle or reside there temporarily, duties, taxes, licence, under whatever appellation they may be, others that those that are or will be collected on the natives, and the rights, privileges and immunities which the citizens of one of the two states enjoy in matters of trade, industry and industrial property and commercial navigation, will be common to those of the other under reserve of the exceptions contained in this treaty.

Article II.—The "ressortissants" of each of the high contracting parties will, as the natives of the "ressortissants" of the most favoured nation, mutually have the right to enter with their ships and loadings into every port and

river of the respective states: to travel, reside and settle wherever they will find convenient for their own interest, buy, own and sell houses, shops, stores and moveable goods of all sorts; to exercise any kind of industry or profession; to carry on trade in wholesale as well as in retail, to despatch and receive goods and values thro' any terrestrial, fluvial and maritime way and to receive consignments from inland as well as from abroad everything without paying duties other than those which are or will be collected on the natives or on the " ressortissants " of the most favoured nation.

The French, may, in Burma, buy lands, sell, own and cultivate them, erect buildings therein, everything on submitting to the laws of the land in the limit in which these laws will be applied to the citizens of the most favoured foreign country.

The " ressortissants " of each of the high contracting parties will in their sales and purchases have the right of fixing the price of the goods and things whatsoever they may be, imported as well as native, whether they are sold in the heart of the town or intended for exportation.

They will have the right of doing and managing their affairs or getting themselves replaced by duly authorised persons, either in purchase or in sale of their properties, goods and merchandizes, or in their proper declarations in custom-house for the loading and unloading and despatch of their ships.

The Commercial transactions will be entirely free in Burma, the French " ressortissants " will not, in any case, be obliged to avail themselves of royal brokers, *poudzas* or any other mediator which will exist in Irraouddy or in Burmese markets.

Article III.—In order to facilitate the journeys and the establishment of the French " ressortissants " in all the area of Burma, and to guarantee their security, it is agreed that they should be provided with a passport delivered by the French authorities; this document will be covered by with the visa of the Burmese authorities who could not refuse it. However, the French " ressortissants " in Burma will not be under obligation of furnishing with a passport so much as all the foreign " ressortissants " are also liable to it.

Article IV.—The French " ressortissants " in Burma, and the Burmese in France, will be exempted from all ordinary, extraordinary or war contribution which would not be imposed on the citizens of the most favoured nation.

They will also be exempted from all personal service either in the land and sea forces or in the guard or national army as well as of all requisition to the army service.

Article V.—The Burmese Government is interdicted to create monopolies and allow therein, directly or indirectly the establishment on commercial articles other than tea intended to be used in fresh state. The trade of all other articles is free.

It is moreover agreed that it does not do any prejudice to the rights of property of His Majesty the King of Burma on the natural products, for instance, kerosene oil, gems, jade, and teakwood, etc., which would be found in his private property.

Article VI.—Gold or silver coined or bullion and things for personal use will be exempted in Burma from any import and export duty. All other goods when imported or exported will be liable to the same duties as those which are or will be collected in this town on the similar importations and exportations of the most favoured nation.

In any case, the duties collected in Burma, when imported as well as exported, could not exceed five per cent. *ad valorem* before the first day of the Burmese year 1257, corresponding to the first April 1895, except opium which may be imported upon a duty of thirty per cent.

On the expiry of this time, the Burmese Government may, in consideration of circumstances and needs of trade, increase the said custom duties, without however exceeding ten per cent. of the value on the goods whatsoever, save opium, as is aforesaid. In case the Burmese Government would make use of this right, he should impart it to the French Government six months beforehand, the rate he would intend fixing on.

Article VII.—For levying the custom-duties, the value of the goods imported from one country into the other will be fixed according to the cost price in the place of origin or manufacture to which will be added freight, commission and insure charges.

The importer should furnish invoice letters and bills for his goods.

If the Burmese Custom-house thinks that the exact value of the goods has not been declared by the importer, it will have the right of choosing between both the ways of proceeding: either to purchase beforehand the goods paying the declarer, in the space of a fortnight, a sum equal to the value declared and one-fifth above, the pre-emption is always being made in the account of the Burmese Estate: or to submit the strife to the consul for France or to any other competent Burmese Officer, who, after having taken themselves each one or two merchants as assessors, if they think it convenient, will settle the object of the strife according to justice.

There will not be any appeal to their decision which will be obligatory for both the parties.

Article VIII.—The articles used as samples which will be imported to Burma by manufacturers, merchants or travellers of French trade, and reciprocally will be admitted in temporary franchise in all ports, in consideration of necessary custom-house formalities in order to guarantee their re-exportation and re-integration in warehouse. These formalities will be settled with one accord between the two Governments.

Article IX.—Each of the high contracting parties, engages to make best the other immediately and without compensation of all favour, privilege or reduction of custom-duties which one of them has granted or could grant to a third power.

The high contracting parties engage, besides not to fix one towards the other, any duty or prohibition of import, export or transit which may be at the same time applicable to any other nation. The treatment of the most favoured nation is reciprocally guaranteed to each of the high contracting parties for what all is concerned in using, warehousing, re-exportation, transit, transhipping of goods, the trade in navigation in general.

Article X.—The merchantmen of both the nations will enjoy in each of the respective states all rights, privileges and immunities which are or will be granted to the natives as well as to the ships of the most favoured foreign nations.

The above rights and privileges will be exercised submitting to the laws and regulations of the country custom-house in the limit in which these laws and regulations will be applied to the "ressortissants" of the most favoured nation.

Article XI.—The merchantmen arrived at the custom-house of the Burmese frontier could keep on board but arms and ammunition mentioned in the ship inventory and necessary for the safety of crew.

Arms and ammunitions consisting in articles of shipping should be put ashore and left to the keeping of the Burmese custom-house which will be responsible and should deliver them on the departure of ship.

Article XII.—The Burmese custom-house officers will be allowed to reclaim on the arrival of the French merchantmen at a fluvial station in Burmese territory the representation of nationality-certificate and other papers of board.

In the space of 24 hours' arrival, the captain of the ship should hand over to these officers the manifesto or the general list of loading which will point out the name and tonnage of the ship, the constitution of the crew, the number of passengers, the numbers, marks and the number of parcels as well as the nature of goods.

The permission of landing should be given within three hours from the delivery of the manifesto. This time expired the landing will take place without permission. The want of the representation of the manifesto in the fixed time and the loading of goods without permission before the expiry of the time of three hours mentioned above can give room to a fine which should not exceed rupees two hundred.

Article XIII.—The consignees and the senders will be bound to be present by themselves or by their representative to verify the unloaded and embarked goods.

For their part, the Burmese custom-officers should proceed without delay for verification.

Article XIV.—If a Frenchman breaks in the kingdom of Burma, the French Agent will take possession of all the properties of the Bankrupt and will sell them off as well as possible to the creditors' advantages.

Article XV.—If a Burmese man refuses or escapes the payment of a debt towards a Frenchman, the Burmese authorities will afford the creditor every assistance and facility to recover what is due to him, in the same way the French Agent will afford the Burmese subjects every assistance to collect all debts that they will have to reclaim from the French in Burma.

Article XVI.—The Burmese " ressortissants " will enjoy in French colonies or possessions the treatment of the most favoured foreign nation.

Article XVII.—Till a special arrangement occurs between the two governments, agreeably to the protocole, signed in Paris, on the 24th January 1873, corresponding to the Burmese era 1234 Piatho II of the waning moon, it is agreed that the French " ressortissants " could reclaim in Burma, in point of jurisdiction, the treatment of the most favoured nation, in case in which the " ressortissant " of other countries would come to get in that respect particular advantages.

Article XVIII.—Any Burmese subject who will have come back after having admitted to be guilty of assassination, murder, firebreak, plunder with armed-hand, theft with or without violence, in the Burmese territory or in the Republic possessions should be tried and convicted according to the Burmese laws.

Reciprocally, the French " ressortissants " who will have come back on the territory or in the Republic possessions, after having admitted to be guilty of assassination, murder, firebreak, plunder with armed-hand or theft with or without violence in the Burmese territory should be tried and convicted according to the French laws.

Article XIX.—The French and Burmese authorities will mutually hand over the Burmese taken shelter in France or in the French possessions and the French " ressortissants " taken shelter in Burma who will be charged with having committed into the other nation one of the crimes or offences mentioned above. The extraditionary petitions should be made through the diplomatic Agent or Consul and a reply will be given but for an objection drawn out of the political character of the incriminated fact or divergency of legislations.

Article XX.—The two Governments will agree with each other for adopting with one accord all rules which would be deemed necessary to guarantee the observation of this treaty.

Article XXI.—This agreement will enter into effect from the day of the exchange of ratifications which will take place in the space of a year or sooner, if it can be done.

It will remain executory till both the Governments agree with each other, a year before, in order to introduce modifications therein or to have its effects ceased.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have set their hands and seals in this Agreement.

Made in double copies, in Paris, the 15th day of January 1885, corresponding to the Buddhist era 2428 and to the common era 1246, piazo of the waning moon.

(L. S.) Signed—JULES FERRY.

(L. S.) Signed—MING GHIE MIN MAHA ZAYA THIN GIAM,
MYOTHIT MYOSAH ATWIN WOON MIN.

Prince Akbar and the Portuguese.

[From unpublished Portuguese letters of viceroy Francisco de Tavora, preserved in the government archives at Pangim.]

(By Panduranga Pissurlencar.)

The biography of Prince Muhammad Akbar, the fourth son of Aurangzib, has still to be studied by the light of historical documents. One of its chapters is connected with his relations with the Portuguese, the chief source of which, hitherto generally followed, is the work of the famous traveller Nicolas Manuchy,[1] though quite deficient in this respect.

The first relations of the Portuguese with the Prince above referred to, date from the middle of January 1683, at which time Akbar being in the port of Banda, in the neighbourhood of Goa, sent an envoy to the viceroy Francisco de Tavora, who received him in the fort of the city of Goa on the evening of 17th January 1683.[2] Through this envoy, Akbar gave to the viceroy the news of his quarrel with Sambhaji and asked him permission to sell some jewells in Goa.[3] From this can be gathered that the Mughal Prince decided to leave Maharashtra, on account of his quarrel with the Maratha monarch, in the beginning of the year 1683 and not some months after, as Orme[4] and J. Sarkar[5] suppose.

The letter which the viceroy wrote to Prince Akbar, in reply, bears the date of 19th January 1683 and reads thus: ". . . . I received the letter

of your Highness, and same afforded me great delight, apart the displeasure that caused me the news your ambassador gave me of your having undergone troubles and sufferings, and heard the proposals which were made to me, on your behalf on various affairs, to which I consented with good will, in the manner he will tell your Highness, and in everything that is related to your Highness, you will find me equally in agreement . . . ."[6]

The good will which the viceroy had promised to Prince Akbar was of short duration, for the ambassador of Aurangzib named Shek Muhammad arrived in Goa on the 20th January [7] and on account of his stay in Goa [8] the viceroy had to follow a different line of politics towards the Mughal Prince. However, Akbar having informed the viceroy that he wished to go to the Kingdom of Kanara and thence to Mecca or other parts of the straits, the viceroy ordered to be given to him, at his request, on the 13th February 1683, five passports for five ships in which he had determined to start on a voyage with his people.[9] One letter of the viceroy, written on the 16th February 1683 to Akbar, who was still residing in the port of Banda, gives some pertinent details:—[10] " . . . . I received the letter of your Highness, with great joy, having good news about you, and I highly appreciated the *canjer*, decked with precious stones, which you sent me as present and still more because it was an article which your Highness carried on your girdle, and also to show your Highness my esteem and good will, I send with your ambassador Abdool Rahim Khan what is mentioned in the list, which goes with this, and your Highness must have already learned, through the same ambassador, what I replied to the proposals he made me on your behalf, regarding the sale of the precious stones, which I ordered to be sold, as well as regarding to writing to the Factor of Mangalore, about securing the ships that may be necessary to your Highness, to voyage in them with your people, and also to the Queen of the Kingdom of Kanara to [give] to your Highness, through my recommendation, all the help that you may ask her, which I expect she will do owing to the peace, friendship and dependence which she has with this State; and at once I ordered to fit out at the cost of the Treasury a *paro* from Panjim, in which I shall send a person with these letters and it has not already started because it is waiting for the two persons which the ambassador told me would go in the same *paro* on behalf of your Highness with orders to engage the ships referred to; and as soon as they arrive, the *paro* will start."

The rumours of help, which the viceroy promised the unhappy Prince, must have reached the ears of the ambassador Shek Muhammad, who informed about it some Mughal generals, so much so that one of them, Sidy Yakut Khan, wrote to the viceroy asking not to help but on the contrary to capture Prince Akbar. Manuchy[11] says that it was Aurangzib, who, through his ambassador Shek Muhammad, wrote to the viceroy asking him to refuse any

kind of help to the Prince and to capture him or kill him. But this assertion of the Italian traveller is not true, for the letter to which Manuchy refers is dated 20th June 1682,[12] when Prince Akbar was away from Goa. Besides this, the same viceroy wrote to Aurangzib on the 12th April 1683:—" .... When the ambassador of your Majesty came here, he found in this city another who was sent to me by Prince Muhammad Akbar, son of your Majesty, who is in this vicinity, in the port of Banda, land of the unfaithful, and of his presence he distrusted for not keeping the promises he had made; and of his presence the ambassador of your Highness must have given information to your generals, which gave origin to a letter of the chief captain of the Navy, Yakut Khan, asking me not to show favour or give help to the said Prince Akbar, for he has revolted, and after coming to this State to imprison him; and about the same Prince, Lutf-ullah Khan, favourite (valido) of your Majesty, and general Bahadur Khan wrote to the ambassador Sheik Muhammad to signify, on behalf of your Majesty, the displeasure which this prince has caused you and Lutf-ullah Khan says in his letter that he had thirty ships in this port of Goa and ten in that of Rajapur, lands of Sambhaji, to go in them by sea to any place; however these news were false because the said Prince has no such ships, on the contrary, is so poor and in necessity that he sent his jewels for sale in order to support himself, as will inform your Majesty your ambassador, and your Majesty must not take amiss my accepting what he sent to me, but must even thank me for doing so, being a son of your Majesty, and it does not become the generosity and spirit of the Portuguese to be wanting in courtesy due to the princes, and much less to imprison [13] them or any vassals who seek for shelter; and though your Majesty is justly sorry and angry for his wanting in obedience to you, still the fatherly heart and the love of a son, cannot but lead your Majesty to pardon him, and reinstate him in your favour, especially as there are so many qualities in the said Prince as are known to all, so that your Majesty will have another general of so great valour, to conquer and win your enemies, and it will be a praiseworthy action of all the kings and princes of the world to admit in the service of your Majesty this son, and when it may be necessary for my authority to intervene in this re-union, with the advice of your Majesty, to do him a good turn I shall presuade him, if possible, that he may come round to this agreement which will be good to all ...."[14]

One finds from a letter of the viceroy, addressed on the 16th April 1683 to Yakut Khan, chief captain (capitãomor) of Aurangzib's Navy, that this captain had written to the viceroy saying that he was with his fleet in the port of Rajapur, to capture Prince Akbar, who had determined to go from Bandâ to Bicholim, in order to engage some ships in the city of Goa to fly by the sea to some other places.[14a] It seems that about September

1683, Akbar fixed his residence at Bicholim, as can be seen from the English records.[15]

It appears that the Mughal Prince changed his mind about going to Kanara, probably with the fear that he might be caught in the sea by the Imperial fleet. And on account of this, he asked the viceroy the State frigates to go in them to Mecca directly, but the viceroy refused this request. Regarding this fact, a letter from the viceroy written to the ambassador Sheik Muhammad on the 23rd October 1683, reads thus: "Prince Akbar seeing that I refused to give him frigates of the State, which he was asking me in order to go to Mecca, thought of buying a ship for his voyage, and with all secrecy succeeded to do so, through a Moor named Muhammad Khan, who after having left Goa with this view in a ship of small dimensions, saying that he was going to Surat. I learned that the Moor, above referred to, had sent it to the port of Banda or that of Rajapur to receive in it the Prince, who has such a good head that he was thinking to risk his life in such a small ship above mentioned, but he was mistaken, because as I hear, after seeing it he changed his intention, for they tell me he is coming back to this neighbourhood whence he had gone to that of Shiva; I shall proceed rigorously with this Moor if found, for he has already fled fearing already for the defiance with which without my permission he bought and sold this ship . . . ."[16]

Some days before the 23rd November 1683, Akbar embarked in a ship "forced by the unreasonable attitude of Sambhaji, for after taking away from him a part of the jewels and precious stones, he broke his promise of giving him large sums of money and help with men and cavalry to march against Aurangzib, and on account of this he resolved to leave his territory and buy a ship to go to the sea, but . . . . . did not succeed to go on the voyage because having embarked from Vingurla, Cavi Calegi, a favourite of Sambhaji, arrived from Rajapur and sent him a message as from Sambhaji not to go away but to come back to land, as his master had agreed to keep his word and wanted him to help personally to defend the army of the king and after victory he could go with greater safety, and with a greater army wherever he wanted, without risking himself in the sea; and one can understand that under this persuasion he disembarked and remained on land, and sent the ship with a message somewhere . . . ."[17]

On the night of 24th November 1683, Sambhaji took the Portuguese island of S. Estevãs and on the 25th defeated the viceroy who had gone to fight him in that island. On the 26th, the Maratha monarch evacuated the island,[18] and two days after[19] this occurrence, Sambhaji feigning that Prince Akbar, who was in his company, wanted to be a mediator of peace, sent an envoy to speak to the viceroy about it, but as this envoy was not bringing

any credentials about him, he was not received by the viceroy. This envoy was named Ray Kirtising and was sent to Goa on the 29th November.[20]

The war between the Portuguese and the Marathas continued however, more furiously, the Portuguese having been completely defeated,[21] so much so that the preservation of the Portuguese territory of Goa was attributed to the miraculous intervention of Saint Francis Xavier.[22] This war terminated with a treaty of peace. Neither Manuchy nor Akbar, nor Orme, nor Duff nor Sardesai nor Parasnis refers to it. Duff says:[23] " . . . . . the viceroy made overtures for peace, but as Sambhaji demanded five crores of pagodas as a preliminary, they were at once broken off." Almost all investigators of Indian history have followed Duff's assertion, except Prof. J. N. Sarkar, who incidentally refers to the above mentioned treaty of peace.

Among the Maratha sources, only *Zedhe Yanchi Shakavali*[24] says that on the 7th January 1684 "Kavi Kalash taking Akbar with himself went to the forest of Bhimgad and made peace with the Firangis [Portuguese]." This information of *Zedhe Chronology* is corroborated by the Portuguese sources, as in some documents of the archives of the Governor's Palace at Pangim, it is clearly said that the Portuguese envoy Manuel Saraiva de Albuquerque realized the treaty of peace in the presence of Akbar.[25]

In the meeting which was held by the Council of State (*Junta de Tres Estados*) on the 13th March 1684, the viceroy said:—[26] ". . . . . and though Sambhaji asked for peace through Prince Sultan Akbar, who is in his territory, empowering him and his ministers to conclude an agreement with the envoy Manuel Saraiva de Albuquerque, who had gone, on behalf of the State to Phonda to deal with this agreement and had ordered his army to retire from the lands of Salsette and Bardez, still it cannot be expected that there is in this firmness nor certainty, because the said Sambhaji did this forced by the power of the army of the Mughal King who had come to attack him . . . ." The minister of Sambhaji referred to in this excerpt is certainly the above mentioned Kavi Kalash.[27]

According to the *Zedhe Chronology* peace was made in the forest of Bhimgad, but the Portuguese document above referred to, says that the agreement was concluded at Phonda. It is to be supposed that the preliminaries of the treaty of peace were made at Bhimgad on the 7th January,[28] but same was definitely fixed at Phonda at a later date, between the 25th of January[29] and 4th of February.[30] The reason why the treaty was not concluded at Bhimgad was that near the place was the powerful army of Shah Alam, who had already arrived at Bicholim on the 15th January 1684.[31] At Phonda there was at this time more security than at Bhimgad.

In the *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo*, published in Lisbon in 1710, one finds that on the 3rd January 1684, Sambhaji sent to Goa four envoys

to ask for peace and to settle it, three days after, Manuel Saraiva de Albuquerque, the Portuguese envoy, passed to the other side, that is to the side of Bhimgad, and then hostilities ceased[32]. This information of the Jesuit priest agrees with that of *Zedhe Chronology*.

The text of the treaty is lost. In the archives of the government of Nova-Goa, there are the original texts of various treaties in the books called *Tratados* (Treaties) but that of Sambhaji is not found. Cunha Rivara[33] and F. N. Xavier,[34] who passed a considerable part of their lives in the archives of Goa, did not know that such a treaty was even realized.

Recently, we were lucky to find in a worm-eaten book of the same archives the record of the following letter written by the viceroy to J oão d Sequeira de Faria, Governor of the North, on the 4th February 1684, which gives an idea of the lost treaty:—" . . . . . By the four ships that came from the North and went away *some days back*, I wrote to you giving news that peace was concluded between this State and Sambhaji Raze Chatrapaty, of which Prince Akbar was the intermediary . . . . . . in which it was agreed that Sambhaji Raze would return all the lands, fortresses and forts which he captured from this State, with artillery, arms and all the vessels with their goods, which before and after the war his ministers and *subhedaras* had caught and that in the same way return should be made by us of the ships of his vassals, and liberty should be given to the prisoners of both the States, and that to Sambhaji should be paid the *gãocandil* (gaonkhandi) of the jurisdiction of Bacain, and the *chouto* (chauth) of the jurisdiction of Damaum, in the same manner as it was paid to King Choutia, with the obligation that he [Sambhaji] should defend the [Portuguese] territory and that friendship and commerce should go on freely as before, the passages being opened for the vassals to pass from one side to the other, with their goods and merchandise, without any impediment, and that we should not consent that within the range of the artillery of our forts and fortresses should pass ships with materials to the Mughal King and that there was no stipulation when they passed along the places where there was no artillery . . . . . "[35]

From other state-papers of Goa, it is known that there was in this treaty a clause, pardoning the *Desais* of the lands of Sambhaji, who having joined the Mughals or Portuguese lived in banishment at Goa.[36] Another clause of the same treaty was that Sambhaji could not build any kind of a fort on the borders of the Portuguese territory.[37]

It is necessary to say that Choutia was the king of the hills of Assarceta and the lands of Ramanagar, who, from ancient times,[38] collected from the Portuguese Jurisdiction of Daman the tribute of *chouto*. After the annexation of a good part of the territory of Choutia, Sambhaji had demanded from the Portuguese in 1682 the *chouto* which was paid to the King of Ramanagar; but the Portuguese replied that they would pay it if he become the master

of that whole Kingdom.[39] This *chouto* is not however like the chauth or "one fourth of the estimated revenue"[40] for the *chouto* which was paid to the King Choutia at this time and which the Portuguese would agree to pay to Sambhaji was of certain villages regulated at 17 per cent, of others at 14 per cent and of others at 12½ per cent.[41]

With Shah Alam's invasion of S. Konkan, Akbar retired from the vicinity of Goa but in the archives of Panjim there is a record of a letter addressed to him by the viceroy in March 1696 in reply to that of Mughal Prince.[42]

NOTES.

[1] We discovered recently in the archives of the government at Pangim the record of a charter by which the Portuguese viceroy granted to Manuchy the habit of the order of San Tiago, of which the Italian traveller speaks in the Volume II, page 281, of his *Storia do Mogor* (Vide *Livro de Cartas Patentes e Alvara's N° 62, fl. . . .*). In the same archives are the records of two important letters addressed by the viceroy to the Italian traveller in November 1684 (Cf. *Livro dos Reis Visinhos N° 2, fls. 49-49v.*)

[2] *Reis Visinhos N° 2*, fl. 26v.; *Cartas Patentes e Alvara's N° 67*, fl. . . . Prof. J. Sarkar (*Hist. Aurangzib, Vol. IV, page 285*) says that Akbar sent an envoy from Vingurla but this is not true (Cf. *Livro dos Reis Visinhos N° 2*, fl. 29v., in which is recorded a letter of the viceroy to Yakut Khan, dated 10th April 1683 in which it is said: ". . . . . Prince Akbar having gone away discontented from the presence of Sambhaji for not having kept the promise he had made, came to the port of Banda, from where he sent me his ambassador . . . .")

[3] *Livro das Monções* N° 47, fl. 242.

[4] Orme, *Historical Fragments*, 1905, page 158.

[5] J. Sarkar, *Hist. Aurangzib*, IV, page 284.

[6] *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* N° 2, fl. 26v.

[7] *Livro de Cartas Patentes e Alvara's* N° 67, fl. . . . .; *Livro das Monções* No. 47, fl. 242. In a Portuguese Ms. preserved in *Biblioteca Nacional* of Lisbon another date is given but we prefer that of the official documents (Cf. *Relacão verdadeira do que sucedeo no Estado da India desde 2 de Janeiro de 1683 até 25 de Janerio de 1684*).

[8] Shek Muhammad remained in Goa till the middle of April 1683 (*see Livro de Cartas Patentes e Alvara's* N° 68, fl. . . . ; *Reis Visinhos N° 2, fl. 32*).

[9] *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* N° 2, fl. 28.

[10] *Idem*, fl. 34.

[11] *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, page 260.

[12] *Reis Visinhos N° 2*, fl. 31.

[13] It is convenient to note that from the Mughal government there was the request only to capture and not kill the Prince, contrary to what Manuchy (*Storia*, Vol. II, page 260) writes.

[14] *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* N° 2, fl. 31.

[14a] Idem, fl. 34v.

[15] *Vide* Prof. J. Sarkar, Hist. Aurang., IV, page 284—5. Prof. Sarkar confounds *Dicholey* or *Bicholi* with *Dapoli*. Bicholim is now in Portuguese territory.

[16] *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* N° 2, fl. 37v.

[17] *Idem*, fl. 38v.

[18] *Relação verdadeira do que sucedeo no Estado da India* . . . . . . (Ms. in Public Library of Lisbon).

[19] *Livro das Monções* N° 48, fl. 181.

[20] *Reis Visinhos* N° 2, fl. 40.

[21] Cf. J. Sarkar, *Hist. Aurang.*, IV, pp. It was only after this war that the viceroy called Sambhaji by the title of *Chatrapati;* he gave to the Maratha envoy

the honours of an ambassador and resolved to change his capital—the historic old city—to the island of Marmagoa, the latter being more easily capable of being defended than the former. (See *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* N° 2, fls. 40v and 41; Biker, *Collecção dos Tratados da India*, Vol. V, page 13; C. Rivara, in *Chronista do Tissuary*, Vol. I).

[22] Cf. Francisco de Sousa, *O Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo, P. I., Conq. IV., Div. I*, §108 (ed. 1710), F. N. Xavier, *Resumo historico de S. Francisco Xavier*, 1861, page 262.

[23] Duff, *Hist. Mahrattas*, Vol. I, page 256 (ed. 1912).

[24] See *Shivaji Souvenir*, page 28; *Shiva Charitra Pradipa*, page 33.

[25] Viceroy's letter to Prince Akbar dated 8th February 1684 (*Livro dos Reis Visinhos N° 2 fl. 40v*).

[26] *Livro de Assentos* 1677—1698, fl. 151.

[27] *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* N° 2, fl. 41.

[28] Cf. *O Oriente Conquistado* and *Relação verdadeira do que sucedeo no Estado da India.*

[29] In the letter of the viceroy to the Kng of Portugal written on the 25th January 1684 it is said: ". . . . In continuation of the treaty of peace which has not yet been concluded." (*Livro das Monções* N° 48, fls. 185—6).

[30] *Livro das Cartas Patentes e Alvara's* N° 68, fl. . . . . .

[31] See *Relação verdadeira do que sucedeo no Estado da India.* According to the Ms. of Ishwardas, at Bicholim were sacked Sambhaji and Akbar's palaces. The distinguished historian J. N. Sarkar confounds Bicholim with Vingurla but the description of Ishwardas is applicable only to Bicholim. (See *Hist. Aurang.*, IV, page 291 and my article on *Sambhaji* published in *Boletin do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3)

[32] *O Oriente Conquistado* P. I, conq. IV, div. I, § 108.

[33] C. Rivara, *Tratados da India*, in *Boletim do Governo da India* de 1873—5.

[34] F. N. Xavier, *Instrucções do Marquez de Alorna ao seu sucessor*, 1903, page 16, note 25.

[35] *Livro das Cartas Patentes e Alvara's* N° 68, fl. . . . .

[36] See the letter of viceroy to Narahari Pandit, dated 26th March 1684 (*Reis Visinhos* N° 2, fl. 46.

[37] See the letter of viceroy to Kavi Kalax, dated 23rd February 1684 (*Reis Visinhos* N° 2, fl. 41).

[38] See my book *Portugueses e Maratas*, I. pp. 40-50.

[39] See *Livro das Monções* N° 47, fl. 158v.

[40] G. S. Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History*, 1926, page 76.

[41] *Livro das Monções* N° 47, fl. 160.

[42] *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* N° 3, fl. 33.

Gorgin Khan, The Armenian Commander-in-Chief and Minister of Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal from 1760—1763.

(By Mesrovb J. Seth, M.R.A.S.)

In the paper which I read in December 1926 at the Lucknow Session of the "Indian Historical Records Commission" on "Hindoos in Armenia 150 years before Christ," I stated that Armenians had been connected with India from the days of remote antiquity.

As the first foreign traders, they were well-known in India from the Punjab and Cashmere to the banks of the Ganges, having penetrated into the country by the old overland route, through Persia and Afghanistan. They had come by the same route through which the remote ancestors of the Hindoos—the fair Aryans—had migrated into India, most probably from the highlands of Armenia. Be that as it may, as this is not the place to discuss the thorny question of the ancestral home of the Indian Aryans, suffice it to say that the mountains and the rivers mentioned in that great epic—the Mahabharat—have great affinity to the majestic mountains and the great rivers of ancient Armenia.

In my Paper on "Hindoos in Armenia," I narrated the history of two fugitive Hindoo princes from Kanauj who found an asylum in far-off Armenia in the year 149 B. C. from which it is evident that there was a friendly intercourse between Hindoos and Armenians 2,000 years ago, hence the flight of the two Indian princes to Armenia and not to any of the neighbouring countries, such as Ceylon, Burma or Siam.

For twenty centuries and more Armenians have been connected with India as a commercial people and have through their integrity achieved success in the domain of trade and commerce during the Hindoo, the Mohammedan and the British periods. Although a purely commercial community, yet when an opportunity has presented itself, they have shown themselves to be more than ordinary merchants and traders.

During the reign of Akbar, who was a great patron of the Armenians, the son of an Armenian merchant of Cashmere, Mirza Zul-Qurnain, or Alexander by name, rose to be a grandee of the Mogul Court through sheer merit, and continued to enjoy that high privilege and distinction during the reigns of Jehangeer and Shah Jehan, and despite the blandishments of Akbar, the persuasions of Jehangeer and the persecutions of Shah Jehan, the Armenian grandee remained firm and steadfast in the faith of his forefathers and lived and died a good Christian, a staunch friend and a patron of the good Jesuit Fathers at Akbar's Court who wrote of him as "the pillar of Christianity in India." The Chief Justice—Mir Adil—of Akbar's Court was likewise an Armenian, Abdul Hai by name.

An eminent Armenian merchant of Bengal, Khojah Israel Sarhad rose to be a diplomat and an envoy and was instrumental in securing the "Grand Farman" for the English East India Company from the Mogul Emperor Farrukhsiyar in 1715. Another well-known Armenian merchant of Calcutta, Khojah Petrus, better known as the "Armenian Petrus," rendered yeoman services to the British cause in Bengal after the tragedy of the "Black Hole" and acted as an envoy between the English and Mir Jafar for the overthrow of Nawab Siraj-ud-dowlah and was equally successful afterwards in the removal of the imbecile Nawab Mir Jafar from the Masnad of Murshidabad and

in the appointment of Mir Kasim, in 1760, as the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

Since the days of Akbar who reigned from 1556-1605, up to the middle of the 18th century, or a period of 200 years, the Armenians in India, apart from being eminent merchants, had given a Chief Justice, and a grandee to the Mogul Court, an envoy to the British, but they had not yet distinguished themselves in the military service of the country of their adoption. Yet when the psychological moment arrived, a humble Armenian cloth-seller of Hooghly, Khojah Gregory by name, and a younger brother of the " Armenian Petrus" referred to above, laid down the iron yard measure and took up a gun in the same way that Clive, a humble writer on the Madras Establishment, had exchanged his quill for a sword and with what wonderful results!

Khojah Gregory, better known by his orientalized name of "Gorgin Khan," was a cloth-merchant at Hooghly and for championing the cause of Mir Kasim, he became his confidant and when Mir Kasim ascended the Masnad of Murshidabad in place of his father-in-law, Nawab Mir Jafar, in 1760, he immediately appointed Gorgin Khan as the Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army.

The limited time at my disposal will not permit me to record in the course of this Paper, the achievements of that great Armenian soldier who for three years was the virtual ruler of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and had he not fallen a victim to the sword of an unknown assassin, he would in time have become the Nawab of Bengal with the help of the Army at his command. Had his useful life been spared, he would have done what those two soldiers of fortune, Kemal Pasha and Reza Khan did in Turkey and Persia in our own days.

Unfortunately very little is known of this remarkable military genius—the erstwhile cloth-seller of Hooghly—for the Mohammedan historians of the time have, through racial jealousy and religious antipathy, painted him black by calling him a "traitor" and "the evil genius of Mir Kasim."

Amongst the English historians, Marshman, who is regarded as the best authority on Indian history of that period, writes of Gorgin Khan as follows:

"Meer Caseem met the difficulties of his position with great energy. He curtailed the extravagance of the court establishments. He abolished the " Ram Office," the " Antelope Office," the " Nightingale Office," and many other useless and costly appendages of the menagerie department. He subjected the public accounts to a severe scrutiny, and obliged the officers to disgorge the plunder they had acquired. He exacted all arrears of rent with unexampled rigour, revised the assessment of the land, and made an addition of a crore of rupees to the annual revenue of the three provinces. These measures gave him the means of discharging all the obligations he had contracted to the English, after which he gave his entire attention to the great

object of emancipating himself from the pressure of their authority, and restoring freedom to the Soobah. He removed the seat of Government to Monghir, a distance of 320 miles from Calcutta, where, free from observations, he prosecuted his plans of independence with such earnestness that, in less than three years, he considered himself in a position to set their power at defiance. For this rapid progress he was mainly indebted to the exertions of an Armenian, born at Ispahan, generally known by his orientalized name of Gurghin Khan. He was originally a cloth-seller at Hooghly but when entrusted with the responsibilities of office, turned out to be a man of original genius and vast resources. In less than three years he created a force of 15,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry, disciplined on the modes of the Company's army, he manufactured firelocks, which were superior to the Tower-proof muskets, he established a foundry for casting cannon, and trained up a corps of artillerymen who would have done credit to the Company's Service. Nothing was wanting to render Meer Cassim more powerful than Ali Verdy Khan had ever been, but a few years of undisturbed leisure."

Holwell of the Calcutta "Black Hole" fame, writes of Gorgin Khan as follows:—

"Khojah Gregory is in the highest degree of favour with the Nawab [Meer Kassim] and his adherents, and has posts of the greatest trust near the Nawab's person, and through him the Armenians in general are setting up an independent footing in this country and carrying on a trade greatly detrimental to our investments in all parts."

An Armenian contemporary writer, Thomas Khojamall, who lies buried in the old Armenian cemetery at Agra, where he died in 1780, speaks of Gorgin Khan in terms of the highest praise, but as the encomiums bestowed upon my hero come from an Armenian, I shall, for obvious reasons, refrain from quoting from Khojamall's writings lest my critics should say that I have got an Armenian to sing the praises of another Armenian. I intend however to incorporate Khojamall's account of Gorgin Khan and his Armenian generals in my "Life of Gorgin Khan" which will be a contribution to the history of Bengal from 1760-1763.

The well-known Bengalee writer Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, in his historical romance called "Chandrashekhar" (of which an English translation was published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., in 1905) speaks of Gorgin Khan as follows:—

"Of all the state-officers who were employed in Bengal at that time, Gurgan Khan was one of the highest and best. By nationality he was an Armenian; Ispahan was his birth-place. A report is current that in early-life he was a clothier, but he was a man of great genius and extraordinary talents. Within a short time of his service, he rose to the rank of Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Not only that, soon after he came to his new

position, he formed an artillery force. He had it properly trained and equipped after European methods; the guns and muskets he manufactured turned out to be even superior to those manufactured in Europe. His artillery force became in every respect equal to the European artillery soldiers. Mir Kassim, too, had his hopes that with Gurgan to help him, he would be able to defeat the English. With his rise, Gurgan Khan's influence increased apace. Mir Kasim would not engage in any undertaking without his advice. He would not listen to anybody who spoke contrary to it. In a word Gurgan Khan grew up to be a little Nawab himself; naturally the Mahommedan officials became jealous ''.

Alas for human greatness and ambition! The phenomenal administrative success and advancement of Nawab Mir Kasim and the meteoric rise of his Chief Minister and Commander-in-Chief to power and prominence did not last long, since every rapid success is invariably followed by a rapid fall. The fall was, however, precipitated by the English, for according to Marshman, "the unprincipled conduct of the Council Board in Calcutta," which eventually deprived Mir Kasim of his throne, brought on a rupture between him and the English, which resulted in several battles that were fought between the two armies. The last of these well-contested battles was fought at a place called Gheriah, on the 2nd day of August, 1763, regarding which Marshman writes:—

"The battle lasted four hours, and in the opinion of Clive, never did troops fight better than those of the Nabob. At one period of the action, indeed, they penetrated the English lines and captured two guns, and victory appeared for a time likely to incline to them, but the gallantry of the Europeans and the steadiness of the sepoys bore down all opposition, and the Nabob's troops were constrained to abandon all their guns and stores and retreat to Oodwanulla."

A week after the memorable battle of Gheriah, Gorgin Khan met his death at the hands of an unknown assassin, who it is said had been instigated by the Nawab Mir Kasim. Marshman in his " History of Bengal " gives the following version of the tragic event. "It came out that in the evening three or four Moguls had entered his tent and slain him. It was given out that they had gone to the Commander to ask for their arrears of pay, but he had ordered them to be driven away, on which they drew their swords and murdered him. The fact was that no pay was then due to them, they had been paid nine days previously. At all events, this seems in a manner certain that Kasim Ali [Mir Kasim] had treacherously sent them to kill his Commander-in-Chief Gurgin Khan. A brother of the latter, named Khojah Petrus [the Armenian Petrus of Clive,] resided in Calcutta and was on terms of great friendship with Messrs. Vansittart and Hastings. He had secretly written a letter to Gurghin Khan, urging him to quit the Nawab's service, and if he had a good opportunity to make him a prisoner. The Nawab's

chief spy got intimation of this, and went at one clock at night to his master, and put him on his guard by informing him that his Commander-in-Chief was a traitor. Within twenty-four hours of that time the Armenian General, Gurghin Khan, one of the greatest men of the age, was a corpse."

There is no evidence that Gorgin Khan had ever intrigued with his brother in Calcutta; on the contrary, his extraordinary talents in military matters had been wholly devoted to Nawab Mir Kasim's cause, and not even the fraternal affection that he had for his brother Petrus, who was in such high favour with the opposing forces, could have seduced him from his unswerving loyalty to the Nawab. Thomas Khojamall, the Armenian contemporary writer, already referred to, says that when the English secretly wrote and asked him to make a prisoner of the Nawab, for which he would be handsomely rewarded, he replied:—

"I was a humble individual, Kasim Ali Khan trusted and raised me to this high post of honour, I cannot therefore comply with your request. Far from it, that I should betray my master, particularly as it is a distinct national characteristic of the Armenians never to betray their masters, but serve them faithfully and remain loyal to them always."

A man remarkable for his genius and foresight Gorgin Khan played a prominent part in the history of those times and would probably have distinguished himself more in the early days of the British conquest of Bengal, had he not fallen a prey to the sword of an assassin which sad event prematurely closed his illustrious career on Monday, the 11th day of August 1763.

He was a pious Christian and sent for an Armenian priest to whom he humbly confessed his sins and received the Blessed Sacrament at his hands with great faith and devotion before he expired. His body was removed from the camp with great solemnity and honour and was buried in the village of Brae, where the renegade Sumru, one of the Generals of Gorgin Khan, had encamped with his regiment.

Gorgin Khan had gathered round him about one hundred brave Armenians from various places, some of whom he appointed as officers over the army of which he had the full command.

Major Adams who defeated the Nawab's troops at the memorable battle of Oodwanulla, writing to Governor Vansittart on the 3rd October, 1763, says:—

"We had a report yesterday that Coja Gregore [Gorgin Khan] had been wounded some days ago by a party of his Mogul cavalry who mutinied for want of their pay between Sooage Gurree and Nabob Gunge. It is just now confirmed by a Hircarra arrived from the enemy with this addition that he died the next day and that forty principal people concerned were put to

death upon the occasion, though it was imagined that the Moguls were induced to afront and assault Coja Gregore by Cassim Ali Cawn who began to be very jealous of him on account of his good behaviour to the English. If this should prove true, Coja Petruce can be of no further service to us. I therefore would recommend sending him down to Calcutta, but shall wait the directions of the Board on that head.

I must confess this piece of news give me some concern as by all accounts he behaved very well to our gentlemen. And it was that only that occasioned him to fall under Cassim Ali Cawn's displeasure. Had he lived. he might probably have assisted in effecting their escape, as we hear he frequently was the means of saving their lives as well as the Setts and other prisoners."

As there are various accounts of the murder of Gorgin Khan, I shall now give a detailed account of the assassination, by a Frenchman, Monsieur John Baptiste Joseph Gentil, a personal friend of the Armenian General and an eye-witness of the tragedy. The account is to be found on pp. 217-235 of Gentil's " Memoires sur l' Indoustan, ou Empire Mogol " published at Paris in 1822. For the English translation of the extract I am indebted to my esteemed friend, Father H. Hosten, S. J. of St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling.

Mr. Gentil who was an officer under Gorgin Khan pays the highest tribute to the memory of his friend and expresses the highest admiration of the character of his master and it is the best account I have yet seen coming from a non-Armenian—after what the Mohammedan, Indian and English historians have said of my hero.

Here is Monsieur Gentil's unbiassed account of Gorgin Khan translated from the original French:—

"After the capture of Rajmahal, Qasim Ali Khan wrote from his camp to the English general, *i.e.*, Major Thomas Adams, to the effect that if he [Adams] advanced any further, he would swear upon the Quran that he would have all the English prisoners in his control killed.

Major Adams, regarding this threat as merely a scheme conceived in his weakness by the Nawab to prevent him advancing, continued his march. The Nawab turned back to Monghyr, had all his treasure and baggage sent off to Patna, and started for that city himself.

On the Road to Patna the Jagat Seth brothers sent word begging of me to intercede for them with Gurgin Khan. But this latter Officer made me promise not to persist in pleading for them, not only because I could never be successful, but also because by such a step I would find myself involved in their disgrace, there being no possibility of getting them pardoned.

On the way the enemies of the Nawab persuaded him that Gurgin Khan was betraying him. From that moment the Prince vowed he would put an

end to that faithful minister, whom calumny had painted as a traitor. Gurgin Khan was not unaware of this detestable design. I was always encamped close to this Minister, and used to have my meals with him. One day when he was late in coming to dinner, the various dishes that used to be brought each day from the Nawab's camp had been laid out in front of me, and I had commenced to partake of them. Just then the Minister arrived and forbade me to eat any more, saying:—"What are you doing? What! do you not know that you might be poisoned! How imprudent you are, after you have learnt what has been said about me and my brother! I have enemies. Be suspicious of everything." He had the dishes removed forthwith, and had others served up, prepared by hands he did not distrust.

Half way between Monghyr and Patna, an attempt was made to assassinate him; but as I had had my bed placed in front of his tent and by the side of the sentinel, in the open air, solely on account of the great heat, the assassins, thinking their design had been discovered, postponed its execution till the following day.

Next day—a day on which the army had marched—arriving later than usual in consequence of the bad roads, the Minister had dinner served up immediately. After our meal, the heat being excessive, he said to me:—"Let us go over to my Bakhshi's (paymaster's) tent; perhaps it will be cooler there." When he arrived there, not finding it any more comfortable, he decided to go back again to his own quarters. As he was passing through the camp of his Mughal cavalry, when he was in the midst of the horses, a trooper approached and asked him for some money, complaining that, in spite of his pay which he had just received, he had not enough to live upon, having regard to the dearness of provisions. Gurgin Khan, incensed at the demand, called one of his attendants in a loud voice. The trooper withdrew. When he had been talking of other matters, overcome by the heat and anxious to get under shelter, I left him. I had hardly gone thirty steps when I heard shouts for help from three men who had remained with the Minister. Turning round at once I saw the same trooper striking Gurgin Khan with his sword. The men with him were without arms, and dressed in muslin, as was the Minister himself. No assistance could be rendered as three strokes had been inflicted as quick as lightning; the first cut nearly half way through his neck, the second cleft his shoulderbone, and the third cut open his loins. The assassin struck him again in the face when he fell down, tripped up by the long tethering ropes of the horses, over which he had sought to pass to reach his tent, fifty paces away. As he was dressed in muslin, the force with which the sword cut can be imagined. The trooper had scarcely struck him when he disappeared. Running up I helped to place the Minister in his palanquin, and had him carried to his tent. As he made a sign that he wanted a drink, he was given some water, but it came out again through the wound in his neck.

Seeing me by his side, Gurgin Khan fixed his gaze upon me, and made a sign with his hand, being no longer able to speak, striking his thigh with it three times, giving me to understand that he had been the victim of calumny, and that I should be very careful about myself.

While the friends and servants of the Minister were tending him with all care, the Mughal trooper, joined by his comrades, threatened to come and massacre the Armenians who were attached to Gurgin Khan's service. Warned by his secretary (who came and snatched me from the arms of my dying friend) of the danger we were exposed to, I insisted on the Armenian commanders, who ran the same risks, placing strong guards at the four corners of the tent in which the Minister was being tended. They had scarcely followed my advice when the Mughals trained a piece of cannon upon the tent where all were mourning the deplorable end of Gurgin Khan. The Armenians having discovered this, I made them forestall the gunner, who was on the point of putting a light to the gun, by shooting him. This they did, the gunner was killed, and the terrified Mughals dispersed and did not show themselves again. Mounting a horse as soon as ever my unfortunate friend had breathed his last, I rode straight to the Nawab's camp, where all were under arms. Each of the commanders was coming up with his troop from the direction of Gurgin's Camp, which was beyond the Nawab's rear-guard. A report was being spread at this time that the English had just attacked the Minister's camp. At this rumour the troops were assembling without any proper order between the two camps, when Qasim Ali Khan came up seated on his elephant, just as I arrived from my side. As soon as the Nawab saw me, he called me up and asked me what had happened. I related briefly the sad and painful spectacle I had just witnessed. The prince appeared affected thereat, and said:—"I had particularly told him never to go about by himself." Then, turning round towards some commanders who accompanied him, he said; "You have just heard what has happened; go back to your tents, "kaire salla" (all goes well)." These last words, uttered in a tone of satisfaction, recalled to my mind the just apprehensions of the Minister as to the fate that was being prepared for him by jealousy and slander. Overcome by the horrible blow that had deprived me of a friend and of all my hopes, I returned to the Nawab's camp.

My situation was critical. A friend—a bosom friend of Gurgin Khan whom I had never left since I had first come to know him, I had just seen him perish under my very eyes without being able to save him. I had escaped myself, I know not how, from the hands of the assassins. In a state of painful uncertainty of mind I went straight to the tent of a Mughal friend of mine, Said-ullah Khan, brother of Mehdi Ali Khan, the Governor of Patna already mentioned. He received me with all courtesy. It was then 6 p.m. I told him, what had just taken place in a manner that showed my indignation and sympathy with the deceased. The Mughal replied: "Our

friend Gurgin Khan had enemies who had defamed him to such an extent that the Prince, convinced by all that was told him, may have been incited to this extreme course. I would not like, however, to be certain as to this, but all that I have said make me think that it is quite possible. It is pretended that he was a traitor to the Nawab, that the English were in league with him, and this was why they kept his brother Khwaja Petrus in their camp." "What a shocking calumny!," I replied "I have been privy to the most secret acts of Gurgin Khan, and I never observed the slightest infidelity on his part. The English had proposals made to him to leave the Nawab, assuring him that by this step he could save the life of his brother, whom they were carrying as a prisoner in their camp. What was his answer? It was this: I have pledged my faith to Qasim Ali Khan; I shall not abandon him while life is in me. I grieve at the lot of my brother; but I could not stoop to better it by a base act. I can make no proposal that would be contrary to the interests of the prince, the master of my destiny, as the English are of that of my brother. I leave all in the hands of Providence.

Never was calumny so horribly concocted. How pitiable are human beings when their passions are so inflamed by venom as to blind them!

Gurgin Khan was far from deserving such a dreadful fate. Not only did Qasim Ali Khan owe in part to him the great fortune he had attained, but also the general order that had been introduced in the system of government. Nothing escaped his unremitting vigilance over all branches of the administration. Just, generous, prudent, energetic, of unassailable integrity, he was incessantly busied with everything that could benefit his master or his subjects. The greatest simplicity reigned in his habits, in his equipage, his table and all that pertained to his home. Everything about him disclosed the merits, the goodness and the disinterestedness of the man. In justice I owe him this, and I render it him with the profoundest satisfaction, as a substitute for the flowers that I would like to have been able to lay every day upon his grave.

The illustrations of justice, of generosity and of strict integrity that I could relate of this minister would help to make his character better known. But, however strong be my feelings of affections and gratitude towards him, any description that I might give would be inadequate."

That well-known Mohammedan historian of the period, Syed Gholam Hossain Khan, the author of the "Seir Mutaqherin,"[1] or "Review of

[1] The "Seir-Mutaqherin" or "Suyar-ul-Mutakherin," that is a "Review of Modern Times" (or more correctly "The Manners of the Moderns") is the chronicle of the decay of the Mogul Empire and the Mohammedan domination of India during the reigns of the seven last Emperors of Hindoosthan. It was written in Persian in 1780 A.D. (1194 A.H.) by Syed Gholam Hossain Khan, a Moslem nobleman, who used to reside, with his father, at the courts of the Nawabs of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, prior to the days of British supremacy.

Modern Times," who wrote both as an actor and a spectator, gives the following accounts of the murder of Gorgin Khan and of the events which led to the rout of Mir Kasim's formidable army after the guiding genius and the master mind had been removed. For obvious reasons, Gholam Hossain Khan, like all the Mohammedan historians of the period, paints Gorgin Khan black, and the reason is not far to seek, for it was gall and wormwood to the orthodox Mohammedan "nobleman of high rank," as Monsieur Raymond calls him, to see a foreigner—an Armenian and a Christian at the same time,—at the helm of the military affairs of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, enjoying the full confidence of Nawab Mir Kasim, who, according to Marshman, "was mainly indebted to the exertions of an Armenian for his rapid rise." Is it any wonder then that the Mohammedan chronicler, biassed and prejudiced to a degree, gloats over the assassination of the Armenian Commander-in-Chief and consoles himself with the happy thought that "that ill-fated man, in retribution for his malicious turn of mind, was hastily sent over the stream that divides the world from the other."

Could such malice, vituperation, racial hatred and religious antipathy in a historian be surpassed? As a matter of fact, when he introduces Gorgin Khan to his readers for the first time, he speaks of him with an animus, begotten of spite, hatred and jealousy as will be seen from the following introduction. "But a man who now appeared for the first time upon the horizon, and soon rose to engross the Navvab's unbounded confidence, was an Armenian called Qhadja-Gurghin brother to Qhadja-Bedross. He was put at the head of the artillery, with orders to new-model it after the European fashion, and likewise to discipline the musketeers in his service after the English manner; troops, which to this day have retained the name of Telingas, in imitation of their patterns and models. To raise his character, he was henceforward called Gurghin-Khan, and distinguished by many favours, and he soon became the principal man in the Navvab's service. There was no man equal to him in that prince's employment: none had so much credit upon his mind; and to this day, no General ever had the art of governing his master in so complete a manner; he, like the devil, was endlessly running after Mir-Cassim-qhan, and having once laid hold of him, he mastered him, and kept him under at pleasure."

Throughout his account of the events which occurred in Bengal during the rule of Nawab Mir Kasim from 1760-1763 he never misses an opportunity to disparage, vilify and calumniate Gorgin Khan, who by sheer merit had risen to the highest post in the government of the province, for he was not only the Commander-in-Chief of Nawab Mir Kasim, but his Minister, and adviser as well.

And this is how Gholam Hossain Khan narrates the events of that memorable campaign of 1763 in which Gurgin Khan lost his life, Mir Kasim his throne and the *Subah* its independence.

"The second night, the date of which I cannot remember, a mighty revolution happened suddenly, and an important event took place unexpectedly. Gurghin-Khan was killed; and that ill-fated man, in retribution for his malicious turn of mind, was hastily sent over the stream that divides the world from the other. This strange event happened in the following manner: Gurghin-qhan, who was upon ill terms with all the world, but who studied the English in every thing, wanted to carry a high hand over the soldiery; and in a time of confusion and misfortune, he strove to keep them under that strictness of discipline, which he had seen practised amongst those of that nation; he was not aware that this power of the English over their soldiers, was a gift of Providence; and that that nation had found the art of turning the particular customs of their country into a second nature in their troops.

'Great will ever be the distance between the pattern and the copy.'

How could the poor Armenian, after having sold cloth by the yard throughout his whole life, pretend, that with an authority of only two days standing, he would be able to pass such rules of strict obedience and discipline over a nation, not his own, and which was not yet accustomed to so much regularity and strictness?

" The crow, wholly intent on learning the linnet's note,

Forgot to look at it's own black coat first of all."

The Navvab having taken post on the banks of the Rahva, where he tarried two or three days, Gurghin-qhan, who conformably to his custom, always came the last of all, and always encamped by himself was actually in his tent when two or three Mogul troopers from amongst those he had disciplined and trained himself, came and asked something about their pay. The General answered in an angry peevish manner; but the two men, availing themselves of the unprosperous state of affairs, and of the revolution that had taken place, had the daringness to speak with violence; Gurghin-qhan, without attending to the difference of times, screamed out, *what? is there no one there to take these men into confinement?* He had hardly uttered these four words, when those men finding themselves alone with him, drew their sabres, and in three or four strokes, stretched him on the ground; and their horses being just at the door, they got upon them in an instant, and fled through the fields. The servants having immediately raised an outcry, which brought General Marcar,[2] another Armenian; the latter, on descrying the troopers beyond the reach of a musket-ball, fired at them with two or three pieces of cannon that were at hand, loaded with grape; and the report

[2] Monsieur Raymond, the translator of the " Seir " speaks of General Marcar as follows: " This Armenian had served in Holland and in more than one occasion had approved himself possessed of a very eminent qualification in a General, taking his party suddenly, in sudden emergencies. He is now in Calcutta, subsisting upon the benevolence of his countrymen. He is a well-looking, square set, man, very strong.

of the cannon being heard by Mir Cassim's army, which was at a small distance, every one concluded that the English were arrived, and had already engaged Gurghin-qhan. Instantly Mir-Cassim had the same thought; instantly he got upon his elephant, and took to the fields. At the same time, a general scream, and now and then some confused cries, coming from Gurghin-qhan's quarters; struck such a terror into Mir-Cassim's camp, and especially amongst the sutlers and other market-men, that the whole of them, without making the least inquiry, fled on all sides, most of them towards the bridge on the Rahva. The multitude, which was encamped with me on the other side of the river, surprised to see crowds of runaways endlessly pouring upon them, catched their fears and trepidation; and night coming on, nothing was heard but cries and screams. But, as every one was involved in the general confusion, and saw the mob running to and fro like so many mad men, whilst the great ones were advancing in haste with burning tapers, such a sight thunderstruck Yosofaaly-qhan, one of our company, who being as well as Mirza-bakyr, full as much frightened as any other resolved at any rate to inquire into the cause; and then sent people to take some information from the runaways. But, every one of these giving a different answer, served only to perplex. This diversity augmented our consternation, as there was no getting certain information, about the tumult, and some people conceived causes, which they did not dare to mention, for fear of Mir-Cassim's resentment. All these discordant reports, however, agreed in one point, and this was, in producing some piece of extravagant news, which being spread in a twinkle amongst the runaways, increased their fears and added to the confusion. Meanwhile the throng became innumerable at the bridge, and the passage being now dangerous, seemed to retrace an idea of the bridge of *Seratt*, at the day of judgment, for the crowds were now pouring in such numbers on both sides, that the passage became impracticable for people on foot.

Elephants and carts cut their way through the multitudes, and, as their treading over the boards of the flooring forced the boats to strike against each other the noise bore a likeness to a report of distant firing of cannon: news then came that the English had gained the victory, and as it was thought that the little river only divided the combatants, people prepared their cannon also on this side, and Yosofaaly-qhan resolved either to pack up his baggage, and get ready at all events, or to run away to some place of shelter. But, he was prevented by Mir-Shetari and myself, who insisted on some information. At about midnight the uproar commenced subsiding, and I sent a trusty servant, with orders to stop on this side of the bridge, and as soon as he should discover any person of some consequence, to let him pass first, and then only to ask what was the matter? The man did as he was bid, and stopping at the bridge, he saw a close paleky making towards it with three or four horsemen attending, the man walked a while with them, and then asked whose lady was in the close paleky. One of the horsemen answered

"It is not a lady, it is Gurghin-qhan's corpse: we carry it to the fields for burial. It is the Nawab's order."

On this answer, the man returned with this intelligence, and made us all easy, so that we passed the remainder of the night quietly enough. On the morning, Mir-Cassim himself passed the river and encamped on the spot where we were. The next day he advanced to the town of Bar, where he ordered Djagat Sett Mahtab-Roy and Radja Seropchund, his brother, to be hacked to pieces."

Monsieur Raymond,[3] the translator of the "Seir Mutaqherin," in a long foot-note on page 279 of the second volume of the "Seir," printed at Calcutta in 1789, speaks of the causes which led to the murder of Gorgin Khan as follows:—

"The causes, which no one dared to mention, are a conspiracy said to be brewing by Gurghin-qhan, incited underhand by the English. His brother, Aga Bedross, *alias* Codja Petruss, then residing at Calcutta, and an acquaintance of Governor Vansittart's as well as of Mr. Warren Hastings, had, on their joint request, wrote pressingly to his brother, to engage him by all the motives which religion and a regard for his own safety could suggest, to lay hold of the person of Mir-Cassim qhan, or at least, to come himself to the English camp with his own troops and friends. But, this negotiation having been somehow smelt out by Mir-Cassem's head-spy, he came at one clock in the morning, ordered him to be waked, and laying hold of him by the arm, *what are you doing in your bed,* said he, *whilst your General, Gurghin-qhan, is actually selling you to the Frenghis? He is of intelligence with those without, and possibly with those within, with your prisoners.*

Such was then the general report at that time, and I remember that the very purport of the letter was handed about by the Armenians of Calcutta. As to the Moguls murmuring for their pay, as pretends our author, their plea must have been a fictitious one, for the author himself says, that the army had been mustered and paid a week before. It is also certain, that there never was the least murmuring amongst the troops, as they were regularly

[3] Monsieur Raymond was a French Creole born in Constantinople. He went to France in 1741 and was educated at Paris. In 1751 he came out to India and was employed as a writer in the French Service on the Coromandel Coast till 1756. He then joined the English Service in Bengal as interpreter to Clive but was dismissed by him in 1758. He tried to reach Pondicherry but was stopped on his journey at Masulipatam and sent with his Papers to Bengal to be tried as a spy. He was imprisoned for some months but was released in March, 1761. He then went to Manilla in 1761 but returned once more to Bengal when he was employed by Governor Vansittart in the inland trade. In 1770 he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and assumed the name of Hajee Mustapha from which it is quite evident that he had embraced the faith of Islam. He was an accomplished linguist and at the request of his English friends, he translated from the original Persian the "Seir" of Gholam Hossain Khan and published it at Calcutta in 1789. It was dedicated to Warren Hastings who was a great patron of oriental learning. The whole edition of the translation was however lost on the voyage to England except a few copies that were circulated in Calcutta by the translator. And it is from one of these rare copies, in the Library of the "Asiatic Society of Bengal," that the extracts about Gorgin Khan, have been taken. Monsieur Raymond, *alias* Hajee Mustapha, died as a Mohammedan, in 1791.

paid as late as the passage over the Ceremnassa. This much is certain, that it was this rumour of a conspiracy that put Mir-Cassem on one hand upon dispatching his General, and on the other, upon ridding himself of his prisoners of all sorts, and some such things appear, not only in the Prince's speech to Ferhat-Aaly, but also in our author's narrative, who positively says, that the English prisoners had found means to provide a quantity of money, with a sufficiency of ammunition and arms. As to that Gurghin-qhan, upon whom our author, out of natural antipathy, or for some other cause, is endlessly pouring a deal of abuse, it appears evidently, that he was a man of superior talents and a soaring genius. What are we to think of a seller of cloth by the yard, who conceives and executes the scheme of disciplining troops in the European manner, or making better cannon and better muskets than the English themselves, of casting, mounting and training an artillery, nearly equal to theirs, of introducing order, subordination and discipline, amongst people totally strangers to them? Had Mir-Cassem-qhan possessed three more such geniuses as Gurghin-qhan, Mahomed-taky-qhan and Nedjef-qhan, it is highly probable that the author of these remarks would never have worn an embroidered *malmal* worth fifty rupees on his back, not stuck a poniard of jewel-work in his sash."

In another Foot-note in the "Seir," Monsieur Raymond speaks of Gorgin Khan as follows:—

> "It was he who trained and disciplined the Navvab's Cavalry, infantry and artillery, in the English manner, and if half trained, as were those troops, a simple detachment of them fought and defeated the troops of Major Castairs, which were full as numerous as those that won the battle of Plassy, what would he not have done, had he had a delay of two years more, to train them thoroughly. It is probable that he would have ruined the English in time; for he has taking every measure which could render the Navvab independent. But so far was he from precipitating his master into a war with the English, that whenever he saw him impatiented at the haughtiness and pride of these strangers, he used to say: "bear and forbear; you are not yet fledged, reserve that anger, till the time when you shall have feathers to your wings."

Would such a loyal and faithful servant have conspired against his master? But then the Mohammedan historians in general, and Gholam Hossain Khan in particular, say that he was a traitor and in league with the English, and in the words of Marc Antony, "they are all honourable men!" Let History pass its verdict after hearing the testimony of the two unbiassed Frenchmen, Messieurs Gentil and Raymond, both of whom knew Gorgin Khan personally and were well aware of his innocence.

After the tragic death of Gorgin Khan, his afflicted brother, Khojah Petrus of Calcutta, in order to commemorate his memory, had an additional altar erected in the Armenian Church of Calcutta and had it dedicated to his memory and that sacred edifice, it is sad to reflect, is the only vestige that is left of that remarkable man, since there is no trace of his grave at Brae where his mortal remains were laid to rest in August 1763, unwept, unhonoured and unsung, by an irony of Fate.

Before concluding I may mention that there exists somewhere in Bengal a portrait of Gorgin Khan, in oriental costume, with a peculiar head-gear, and our indefatigable Secretary Mr. Abdul Ali has seen it some years ago, but despite all my strenuous efforts, I have not yet succeeded in tracing the same. I shall be glad if any Members of the "Indian Historical Records Commission" will let me know where it can be seen. There is however a beautiful pen-portrait of the remarkable military genius by Monsieur Raymond, the translator of the "Seir Mutaqherin," who describes Gorgin Khan in the following terms:

"Gurghin-qhan was a man born at Ispahan, the capital of Persia, and had a very remarkable physiognomy. He was above the ordinary size, strong built, with a very fair complexion, large black eyes, full of fire, an aquiline nose, forming a ridge in the middle of its length, and eyebrows very arched, that joined together, so as to form a point going downwards towards the nose. He was then aged about thirty-six and I have spoke twice to him. Nothing was wanting to that man to render him capable of shining, even in Europe, but education. He owed everything to his own genius, and nothing to art or cultivation."

Monsieur Raymond has however overstated the age of Gorgin Khan, for he was thirty when he took service under Nawab Mir Kasim in 1760, and was therefore in his thirty-third year when he fell a victim to the sword of an unknown assassin on Monday the 11th day of August 1763.

Peace to his soul, rest to his ashes, and may his revered memory be cherished at all times by his countrymen, from the banks of the Ganges to the Aras—the sacred river of Armenia.

The Last Days of Nawab Mir Qasim

Based on Unpublished State Records

(By Brajendranath Banerji)

History is not very clear about the last days of Mir Qasim Ali, once Nawab of Bengal. Happily, the papers preserved in the Persian section of the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta, throw a flood of light on the closing years of the Nawab after his defeat at Buxar (1764).

In 1760 the Calcutta Council deposed the weak and vacillating Mir Jafar and placed his son-in-law Mir Qasim—of whose ability they had a high opinion—on the throne of Bengal. The new Nawab proved to be a strong-minded and extremely intelligent man. Soon after his accession, he came into conflict with the Calcutta Council, who claimed exemption from the duty on the inland trade in country produce, although their Indian competitors were subject to it. It was an unjust claim, as they were entitled to exemption only with regard to the foreign trade. In the Council, Governor Vansittart and Warren Hastings opposed it, but they were outvoted by their greedy colleagues who were carrying on private inland trade on their own account. Mir Qasim resolved on a bold solution of the problem;—he placed his own subjects on an equal footing with the Company's servants by abolishing all inland duties. This greatly enraged his opponents who thereupon started provoking him till he was—to use Vansittart's words—'rendered frantic' and driven to hostilities. Mr. Ellis, the Chief of the Factory at Patna, with several other Europeans, who had made an unprovoked and unauthorized attack upon his city of Patna, were captured and ordered to be shot by him.

Open war was now declared against Mir Qasim by the English and Mir Jafar was restored as Nawab of Bengal. After repeated reverses, due to the treachery of his own men, Mir Qasim fled to Oudh, where he had been invited by the Nawab Wazir Shuja-ud-daula, who was in reality prompted by a desire to seize the treasure—estimated at 3 to 5 crores of Rupees in jewels and specie—which the *ex*-Nawab was carrying with himself.

Both Shuja-ud-daula and the titular Emperor Shah Alam II., who was then holding his Court at Allahabad, helped Qasim Ali—although half-heartedly—in spite of the request of the English either to punish him themselves or to deliver him into their hands, so that he might receive his deserts. This was not done, and the result was the battle of Buxar (October 1764), which shattered the hopes of Qasim Ali, delivered Oudh into the hands of the English, and brought the Emperor Shah Alam under British protection. Soon after this, Lord Clive concluded treaties with the Emperor and the Wazir of Oudh, and in 1765 received the grant of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Emperor who, in his turn, was assured by the English of an annuity of 26 lakhs of Rupees.

The fugitive *ex*-Nawab still had hopes of regaining his former authority by expelling the English from Bengal. He went to Rohilkhand where he was at first very well received, but the Rohilas finally decided to abandon a losing cause. Minor chiefs, such as the Rana of Gohad and Ghazi-ud-din, offered to help Qasim Ali, who even tried to unite the Marathas and other chiefs of Hindustan in a league for overthrowing the English in Bengal.

Ever since Qasim's flight from the field of Buxar, the English had been trying to get him outlawed and driven out of every refuge. They kept themselves well informed of the movements of Qasim Ali through the medium of

Shitab Roy (Naib Nazim of Bihar) and the Rajah of Benares. Burning to avenge the massacre of the English prisoners at Patna, they were eager to get hold of the person of the *ex*-Nawab, and therefore they issued a proclamation that whoever would deliver Qasim Ali up to the English would receive from them a reward of a lakh of Rupees besides other marks of favour.

Qasim Ali, failing in all his attempts,—even his piteous appeals to the Nizam and the Ahmad Shah Abdali being of no avail—as a last resort turned towards Delhi, where he fondly hoped to receive the support of the Mughal Emperor.

Thus far, in brief, is the story of Mir Qasim up to 1775, as revealed in the first four volumes of the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, published by the Government of India. It is our intention, however, to deal with the last two years of Mir Qasim's life, *viz.*, 1776-77, with the help of the unpublished records of the Secret Dept., of which the Persian Dept. was a branch.

Qasim Ali took up his residence outside the city of Delhi and sought for an audience with the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II. But the latter was ringed round by people who were eager to advance their own ends by betraying the *ex*-Nawab to the English. Majd-ud-daula, the deputy wazir of the Emperor, maintained a secret correspondence with Lieut.-Col. Cummings, then commanding a British army in Upper India. Genl. Clavering, the Commander-in-Chief, placed before the Board the following letter from the Delhi minister—both in his own and his master's name—forwarded by Lieut.-Col. Cummings, offering to deliver Qasim Ali into the hands of the English :—

> " ....You, my friend, may have heard from report that Qasim Ali Khan is arrived here with a view of paying his respect to His Majesty and of remaining at the Presence. As I learnt that the English chiefs were displeased with him I did not introduce him, and he remains in distress without the city. I have repeatedly written to the Nawab Asaf-ud-daula, that as His Excellency is coming to the Presence and will be accompanied by the chiefs, whatever measures will give pleasure and satisfaction to the English chiefs regarding Qasim Ali Khan shall be carried into execution. His Majesty has also said—' At the time that we resided at Allahabad, the English chiefs petitioned us, that if Qasim Ali Khan came into our power, we would keep him under our authority.' At this time, in spite of prohibitions, and in opposition to the pleasure and orders of His Majesty communicated to him in repeated shukkas sent to interdict him, he is arrived.................."[1]

Such an offer could not but be acceptable to the Board, who accordingly directed Lieut.-Col. Cummings (3rd January, 1776) to accept the offer made

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[1] *Secret Proceedings*, 3rd January, 1776.

to him, and to express its acknowledgments to the King for this token of his favour to the Company which the Board considered as a mark of his regard for the British nation and a manifest instance of his great and impartial justice. In case the Commanding Officer succeeded in seizing the person of Qasim Ali, he was instructed to keep the hero of the Patna massacre under a strong guard, pending further orders from the Board.

Mir Qasim, however, was quite alert and further, some of the minister's letters to the English commander were seized by his people which increased his suspicion and made him more cautious about himself. Lieut.-Col. Cummings deals with the proposed arrest of Qasim Ali in the following letter to the Supreme Council:—

> "I have been favoured with your letter of the 3rd instant...... I need not observe to the Hon'ble Board that little stress can be laid on professions of friendship made by an Indostan courtier. I much doubt whether Majd-ud-daula had any sincere intentious of delivering up Qasim Ali at the time he wrote the letter and, still further, whether supposing that the case, he has it in his power, the letter I received from His Majesty under cover of Majd-ud-daula's took no notice of his proposal of giving up Qasim Ali, but was merely a letter of compliment, expressing his friendship for the English Government and unshaken attachment to their interest. I do not, however, think it improbable that Majd-ud-daula would wish to get rid of Mir Qasim as he has been intriguing at Delhi and endeavouring to procure an establishment at Court and his known abilities will render him formidable to Majd-ud-daula, if he can once get footing there. The minister's own situation is at present critical, as he is on very ill terms with Najaf Khan and has everything to dread when his expedition against the Jats gives him time to return to Delhi; this will no doubt make him anxious to procure a protector, in case of a reverse of fortune, and he must be sensible he can meet with none unless it be from the English Government and to secure this I make no doubt he would go great lengths and his influence with the King is unlimited. I cannot, however, think His Majesty will ever be brought formally to deliver up Qasim Ali, but if Majd-ud-daula can be brought to engage heartily in it, the King may be induced to permit his being seized and carried off and though this may appear an extraordinary proposal, I imagine it might under these circumstances be brought to bear; but it would require a good deal of address, and the strictest secrecy. I am very apprehensive of writing to Majd-ud-daula on this subject as his correspondence with me has already incited suspicion on Qasim Ali, the last letter I

received from Majd-ud-daula was seized by his people. My harkarahs brought one of the Nawab's letters opened and read by Qasim, the letter from His Majesty was not opened, luckily the letter that fell into his hands contained nothing of consequence and his name was not mentioned in it; but this is a strong proof of his suspicion, and has made me very cautious in my correspondence, since I wrote His Majesty an account of the affair and informed him at the same [time] that I should soon quit these provinces.........

Qasim Ali has at present a rabble of about three thousand men with him, but I do not think that (considering what they are) any objection to his being seized, if the Hon'ble Board think it an object of consequence and Majd-ud-daula agrees to his being seized."[2]

Authorized by the Board at Calcutta, Lieut.-Col. Cummings addressed both the Emperor of Delhi and his minister (20th January 1776) on the subject of the seizure of Qasim Ali Khan. But the English very soon realized that there was no sincerity in the offer made to them by Majd-ud-daula.[3] The Emperor of Delhi was extremely unwilling to betray his old ally and co-religionist to the English, even though by so doing he could have proved his devotion to the British interests. Neither could that impecunious monarch venture to give an asylum to an avowed enemy of the English, lest they should, on the ground of his unfriendliness, stop the payment of the Bengal tribute, which was already in arrears.

Fortune turned against Qasim Ali. His followers were falling off and the chances of a personal interview with the Emperor seemed remote. He now thought of appealing to the Governor-General's sense of justice in order to purge himself of the imputations thrown on him by others. Perhaps his idea was only to feel the pulse of the English. Colonel Stibbert, the commanding officer at Bilgram, received from him the following letter:—

"Language is too weak to express the earnestness of my desire to enjoy the pleasure of a personal interview with you. I shall, therefore, not attempt it, but proceed to the principal design of this address. When I first heard that his lordship and the other sardars and gentlemen appointed by the King of England for the regulation of the affairs of all Hindustan (and who have since enlightened this part of the world with their presence) were on their passage, the news thereof inspired me with the

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[2] Letter from Lieut.-Col. J. Cummings, dated 15th January 1776,—*Secret Proceedings*, 1st February 1776, pp. 341-45.

[3] "By advices from Colonel Cummings subsequent to the date of our last letter, we have reason to think there was no sincerity in the offer of His Majesty's Minister to deliver up Qasim Ali Khan, but that he wrote to Colonel Cummings merely to amuse him."—*General Secret Letter from Bengal to the Company*, dated 26th March 1776, para. 35. (India Office Records).

utmost joy. The searcher of all hearts is witness that wherever I am, I am continually engaged in the pleasing employment of repeating the praises of the English as well for the wisdom of their councils, as for their equitable and friendly dispositions. I have the firmest conviction from that justice and equity which are inherent in the character of the English that they will never deviate from the paths of right. I have no ambition of dominion, the utmost of my desire is that the indignation which through the representations of my enemies has been kindled in the breasts of the English against me should be extinguished by the waters of equity, and that regarding me who wish only for justice, as one of their friends and sincere well-wishers, a correspondence should be renewed between us. Let it not be thought an extraordinary or exaggerated declaration that if you will shew this small favour to me (a dependent on your beneficence, who having quitted the place of my nativity and the residence of my family for a century, have wandered about the country in a forlorn condition for these twelve years), as to bring the whole affair to a candid and equitable enquiry, and [if] the least crime is then proved against me, I will submit to lose my head as a satisfaction to my friends. If you, induced by the goodness of your disposition, consent to oblige me by a strict enquiry into the merits and demerits of my cause and will communicate such intention to me, I will send a person to you with a particular detail of every circumstance from first to last. You my friend who are a man of knowledge and experience in the world will weigh the whole in the balance of wisdom, and exert yourself so effectually in my favour that I may obtain justice. By the blessing of God I will not this time be wanting in the performance of the duties incumbent on me, and I will exert myself so effectually for the interest of the English that great pecuniary advantages shall accrue to them thereof. What can I write more?

N.B.—The address on this letter is to General Smith, Jalal-ud-din Jang Roshan-ud-daula Bahadur."[4]

Colonel Stibbert did not take it upon himself to reply to the letter but submitted it to the consideration of the Board (6th March).

On 8th June 1776 Hastings received from Qasim Ali a very long letter congratulating him on his being appointed Governor-General, and hoping that he might now expect justice.[5]

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[4] Letter from Nawab Ali Jan (Qasim Ali Khan) to Col. Stibbert; Camp near Belgram. —*Secret Proceedings*, 2nd May 1776, pp. 1558-60, also p. 1544.

[5] *Eng. Abstracts of Persian Letters Received* 1776. Neither the original Persian, nor the English translation of this letter, is available in the Persian section of the Imperial Record Office.

To what extremities Mir Qasim, once the master of millions, was reduced, is thus described by a contemporary:—

> "Qasim Ali Khan, after several adventures, and flying from one place to another, has at last taken up his residence at Palwal, a small town, 20 *kos* from hence, on the high road from Agra to Delhi. There in a miserable tent, surrounded by a couple of tattered walls, does he, with a suite of about fifty attendants, drag on a wretched life. He is very studious to keep up the appearance of misery and poverty, and this to prevent any attack from robbers, great and small. He has, I believe, a small pension from Najaf Khan, though not openly; and he lives on that, and on some effects which he from time to time disposes of. Part of his time is taken up in dressing his own victuals (which office he trusts to nobody else), and in his correspondence; and the rest is invariably dedicated to judicial astrology. By the stars does he regulate all his conduct; and he is fully persuaded, that, from their influence, and from a due knowledge of it, he will be enabled, one day or other, to remount the *masnad* either of Bengal or Delhi, no matter which, with tenfold power and glory. In that pleasing hope I shall leave him. It is not improbable that before long, some one or other will make away with him, in expectation of plundering his effects. His brother, or cousin, Boo Ali Khan, is here; more, I believe, as a spy upon me and others, than for anything else. However, I have kept hitherto so much on the side of indifference, that I believe he no longer suspects me as he did at first. So much for that hero."[6]

Qasim Ali tried once more to have an audience with the Emperor Shah Alam II, whom he now petitioned as follows:—

> "Expresses his earnest desire of presenting himself before the royal throne. Says that he has been reduced to misery owing to misunderstanding with the English created by the treachery of some of his own dependants. Has been an exile for 12 years and in seeking refuge he has been stripped of all that he possessed by his treacherous servants at the instigation of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula. Prays that he may be given an office in the Royal Court." (August 1776).

Mir Qasim had perhaps counted too much upon the assistance of his co-religionists—the Emperor of Delhi and the Nawab of Oudh, as well as his own people,—and it broke his heart when every one of them refused to stand

[6] Letter from Major Polier at Delhi, to Colonel Ironside at Belgram, dated 22nd May 1776.—*Asiatic Annual Register*, 1800, Mis. Tracts, pp. 34-36.

by him in his time of need. Thus placed, Mir Qasim Ali became anxious to regain the friendship of the English, as will be seen from the following letter which he wrote to a friend—probably Mirza Najaf Khan:—

"Has received his letter and is rejoiced to hear that he has recovered from his sudden indisposition. Says that he very much regrets having come to 'this district' at the call of Shah Alam for not only has he been subjected to vexations and annoyances but had to suffer heavy financial loss as well. His hopes are now centred in the addressee and as sincere friendship has existed between them for a long time, expects that he will now lend him a helping hand. Has never broken his word and will rigidly adhere to any compact that may be made with him. Requests him to use his influence with the Governor-General and Council so that they may again show him favour. Will ever remain faithfully attached to them and do what they may desire of him. Proposes to pass his remaining years in the Company's protection ever seeking their welfare and offering prayers to the Almighty. Has been an exile from his home for many a year and is tired of the wandering life that he has been leading." (August 1776).

Mir Qasim vainly wrote to the English, assigning a long string of reasons why he should be taken into their favour again (29th August):—

"Is extremely anxious to meet the Governor-General. May his heart soften towards him so that he may not deprive him of the pleasure of an interview! His case is deserving of consideration, for if the Governor-General views it justly he will doubtless concede that he (the Governor-General) is responsible for all the misery and distraction to which the writer is now subjected. The 'bread and water' which God gave him in his native land he regarded better than a kingdom. Now he is a wanderer in deserts and for three years has not had any peace of mind. It is strange that the English should have so far allowed themselves to be misled by interested persons as to ignore the dictates of justice and 'shut the door of friendship' against him. Has at the suggestion of the Governor-General written a detailed account of himself for despatch to the King [of England] and the Company. Hopes that the Governor-General will, in the meanwhile, try to remove the estrangement that has been caused between him and the English. Prays for forgiveness which if it is extended to him will enhance the reputation of the English nation while at the same time it will induce him (the writer) to strive hard to please the English in every possible way. His intention is that on arriving in his native land he would place his

> children in the protection of the English and then proceed by sea to the holy places and pass his life in praying for the welfare of the English. For twelve years has been an exile, and like beggars has wandered from door to door. By adding to his misery the English will gain nothing. He is already downtrodden, and it is hardly worth the while of the English to crush him further. Had at the instance of the Governor-General taken up the work of the Nizamat with characteristic zeal but was thwarted by the machinations of Nawab Mir Jafar whose perfidy, if recorded, will fill a volume. It is difficult to understand how, with all his treachery and chicanery, he should have managed to gain the good-will of Lord Clive. Denies having required the English to give up Midnapur, Bardwan and Chittagong. When rupture took place between him and the English, he lost all control over his army. A conspiracy was set on foot by designing persons who had chosen to join Mir Jafar. He then wrote a very polite letter to Major Adams stating that as a result of the declaration of hostilities between them and the English, his army had got out of his hands, and suggesting that the Major might send some trustworthy person to remove the English who were seized, with their effects. Major Adams replied in an improper strain and laid the whole blame at his door. Samru, the German, who was appointed to the command of his army after Gurgin Khan had been slain in battle, contrived with Mir Jafar to bring about the assassination of the English prisoners, the object being to create an insuperable barrier between him and the English."[7]

Tired of leading a life of exile and sick of dragging on a wretched existence, Qasim Ali wistfully desired death as a welcome release from his miseries. He was seized with a lingering illness which culminated in his death on 7th June 1777. He thus succeeded in baffling all the attempts of the English to seize his person in order to gratify their revenge. The announcement of his death occurs in a letter from the Resident at the Court of Nawab Asaf-ud-doula :—

> "By intelligence, just now received from the Court of Delhi, I am informed of the death of Qasim Ali Khan, the late Subah of Bengal, who after a lingering illness of some months, expired the 7th instant. I do myself the pleasure to enclose the Hon'ble Board an extract of the intelligence transmitted me."[8]

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[7] The letter is badly worm-eaten which renders it incomplete and certain facts doubtful.

[8] Letter from Nath. Middleton, to the Governor-General and Council, dated Lucknow, 11th June, 1777.—*Secret Proceedings*, 30th June, 1777, pp. 1036-37.

The paper of intelligence mentioned here cannot be traced. Major Polier, however, gives the following account of Mir Qasim's death in a letter to Colonel Ironside:—

> "Qasim Ali Khan is at last dead and buried. His demise was at Delhi, on the 29th of the moon Rabi-us-sani, that is, on the 6th June 1777. It is said he died in great misery, and that his last shawl was sold to pay for his winding-sheet. The King's people immediately plundered all his cattle and movables, and placed his women and children under confinement: however, the whole was given up again at Najaf Khan's intercession, and two of his children are come to this camp under Najaf Khan's protection......"[9].

Thus died Mir Qasim, the last independent Nawab of Bengal who, so to speak, made the supreme sacrifice in an attempt to save the Indian merchants from imminent ruin.

The East India Company's Missions: Commercial Envoys through the Wilds of Burma in the early part of the Nineteenth Century.

(By A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A.)

The period in the history of the British administration of India from the commencement of the rule of the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, to the end of the Governor-Generalship of Lord Auckland (1828-42), besides being an epoch in administrative changes and financial reforms [1] was also one of Embassies and Missions. From the Miscellaneous Foreign Department papers which are preserved in the Imperial Record Department, it may be gathered that these Missions were conducted by the Officers of the East India Company from this country to the different parts of Asia for the purpose of expanding either the commercial or the political supremacy of the British. Among these Missions, stand conspicuous those led by Major M. Symes and Mr. J. Crawfurd to Ava in 1803 and 1827, by Capt. G. F. Sadleir to Arabia in 1819, by Lieut. W. Pottinger to Sind during 1831-3, by Capt. A. Burnes to Cabul in 1836, by Col. C. M. Wade to the Courts of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the Nawab of Bahawalpur during 1831-39, by Dr. D. Richardson to the Chiefs of the wild tracts of Burma and to the Manipur Frontier during 1830-39, by Capt. S. F. Hannay to the north of Ava during 1835-6, by Capt. W. McLeod to the Frontier Provinces of China in 1837; and last but not least, by Capt. J. Abbott to Khiva in 1840.

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[9] *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1800, Mis. Tracts, p. 36.

[1] The abolition of *Sati* in 1829, the suppression of Thagi, the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1833, the annexation of Coorg in 1834, the liberty of the Press, the imposition of duties on the opium of Malwa, etc.

2. The papers connected with the accounts of these Missions are numerous in the archives of the Imperial Record Department and they read like a romance. They show the indefatigable energy, perseverance and tact of the British Officers who led the Missions. The papers also show that among all the European nations who were contesting for dominance in the East between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, the British were the only people who survived in the long run and continued to prosper till they built a mighty Empire in the East. The records afford ample evidence as to the truth of the well-known saying "the survival of the fittest." One such paper[2] is concerned with the account of the adventurous journey of Dr. D. Richardson through the wilds of Burma in 1835.

3. The materials of the present paper have been taken from the records which deal with the accounts of the commercial Missions which Dr. D. Richardson and Capt. W. McLeod undertook from Moulmein through the unknown lands of Burma during the years 1835-7.

4. It will, perhaps, not be out of place to mention why Dr. Richardson and Capt. McLeod set out on their tour from Moulmein. The fact is about the year 1750 the scion of a new dynasty was governing Burma. It was founded by Alompra who made Ava his capital. The dynasty of Alompra after having subjugated all Burma began a series of encroachments on the British territories. As the Burmese had rejected all proposals of peace, the British Government was at last compelled to declare war in February 1824. In the end the Burmese king (the king of Ava) signed in 1826 the Treaty of Yandaboo by virtue of which the whole coast of Tenasserim came under the possession of the English. About the year 1827 General Sir Archibald Campbell selected Moulmein as the capital of the newly-acquired province of Tenasserim.

5. It appears from the records[3] that the following were the main objects of Dr. Richardson's tour in Burma in 1835:—

(a) to extend and confirm the friendly feelings of the Shan and other Burma States towards the English, whereby the supplies of cattle for the English troops could be obtained at a considerable saving to the British Government;

(b) to induce the Chinese caravan that annually visited the Shan town for trade, to extend their journey to Moulmein;

(c) to open friendly intercourse with the tribe of Karens, called the 'Red Karens', who dwelt on the banks of the Salween river to the northwards of the Tenasserim Province;

(d) to warn the Burmese Chiefs about attacking or otherwise molesting the Karens who were English subjects;

[2] Rev. Dept. (Govt. of Bengal) O. C. the 22nd Sept. 1835, No. 2 (Appendix A).
[3] Rev. Dept. (Govt. of Bengal) O. C. the 22nd Sept. 1835, Nos. 1 and 2.

(*e*) to visit the different independent wild tracts of Burma and to obtain first hand knowledge of their people.

6. Dr. Richardson was eminently successful in his Mission. The following extracts from the letter [4] of Mr. E. A. Blundell, Commissioner in the Tenasserim Province, to Mr. R. D. Mangles, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (Revenue and Judicial Dept.), dated Moulmein, 13th July, 1835, testify to the utility of this enterprise. The first extract runs: " In effecting the second object above mentioned Dr. Richardson will be entitled to the gratitude of the English mercantile community for opening to them another fertile channel for the disposal of their goods." Another extract says: " Doctor Richardson seems to have been completely successful in the objects for which he was deputed ".

7. Dr. Richardson submitted the report of his Mission to Mr. Blundell in June 1835 (Appendix A) who in his turn forwarded [5] it to the Government of Bengal on the 13th July following for their perusal. The Government of Bengal were satisfied with the good result achieved by Dr. Richardson's tour in Burma, and in their reply [6] to Mr. Blundell on the 22nd September 1835 were pleased to say that " they have been much gratified with the zeal, perseverance and discretion displayed by him (Dr. Richardson) on this occasion."

8. In the report of Dr. Richardson we have valuable topographical data of the regions through which he passed. It also gives an insight into the manners, customs, commerce, festivals and superstitions of their inhabitants.

9. The impetus which this tour of Dr. Richardson gave to British commerce in Burma so much encouraged Mr. Blundell that he, in his letter [7] to the Government of Bengal, dated Moulmein, the 13th July 1835, again approached them for sanction to send a fresh commercial Mission to Burma up to the frontier provinces of China. He emphasised the utility of this Mission especially for the reason, as may be found from the records [8], that about this time a deputation was about to proceed to the frontiers of China, from Assam to report on the tea cultivation in that direction. It is very gratifying to note that the Government of Bengal in their letter [9] to Mr. Blundell, dated the 22nd September 1835, readily granted the request.

10. Accordingly Mr. Blundell selected his Assistant, Capt. W. McLeod, for the China Mission, and of his own accord and without the sanction of the Government, again selected Dr. Richardson, his surgeon, to be sent " in charge of a large and valuable caravan towards the north-western States of

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[4] Rev. Dept. (Bengal) O. C. the 22nd Sept. 1835, No. 1.
[5] *Ibid*, No. 1.
[6] *Ibid*, No. 3.
[7] *Ibid*, No. 3.
[8] *Ibid*. No. 1.
[9] *Ibid*, No. 3.

Burma, which were at the time under the King of Ava. This action of Mr. Blundell was subsequently approved [10] by the Government of Bengal.

11. The great object which Mr. Blundell had in view in sending these two Officers to the aforesaid missions will be apparent from his letter [11] on this subject. As this is a lengthy document, the reader is referred to the records for details. The subjoined extract from this letter, besides describing the utility of expanding inland trade in Burma, presents a running commentary on the character of the lower sections of the Indian people of that period which cannot altogether be disregarded. "In addition to these benefits one most material object such Missions would tend to is to open new and to enlarge old channels of inland trade, than which nothing will more conduce to the prosperity of these (British) provinces. It is necessary to secure the good-will of the Chief in our immediate neighbourhood through whose territories the traders from more distant countries must pass; and nothing is more likely to effect this than the occasional visit of a British Officer with complimentary letters and presents, who also in his communications with them will have it in his power to correct any erroneous impressions they may have imbided from the conduct and reports of the traders from Moulmein, many of whom, especially some low characters from Bengal and Madras who often give considerable trouble in those countries and demean themselves improperly on the strength of their being British subjects."

12. Before Dr. Richardson and Capt. McLeod set out on their tours, Mr. Blundell gave them valuable instructions on the 25th November 1836, as to how they should act and behave during their journeys. Those letters [12] of instruction, which are very interesting are too lengthy to be reproduced here.

The following are a few of the more important points which occur in the letter to Capt. McLeod :—

(*a*) that Capt. McLeod should render himself agreeable to the people and their Chiefs through whose countries he would pass;

(*b*) that he should explain to the Chiefs of the countries through which he would travel that the Company are very anxious to open a trade with them whereby each might be mutually benefited;

(*c*) that he should inform them of the market that is open for their produce at the British province in Burma, and of the facility of obtaining thereof all they want in exchange;

(*d*) that he should make known to the Company on his return what description of merchandise they might send to those distant countries which would command ready sale;

[10] Rev. and Agri. Dept. the 27th Feb., 1837, No. 3 (last letter).
[11] Rev. and Agri. Dept. the 27th Feb., 1837, No. 3 (first letter).
[12] Rev. and Agri Dept. O. C. the 27th Feb., 1837, No. 3. (Letters Nos. 2 and 7).

(*e*) that he should point out to the Burmese Chiefs how much they would benefit by an extended trade passing to and from their territories;

(*f*) that he should endeavour to impress upon them that the sole object of his mission is to open new channels of trade and to ascertain from them what route would promote the expansion of trade in their dominions best;

(*g*) that he should ascertain from them their views on the caravans of traders which generally proceed from other countries to the British provinces in Burma through their jurisdiction, the impediments that might be placed in their way in the shape of tolls or other exactions and the protection that would be extended to them;

(*h*) that he would try to guide his movements after reaching Zimmay according to the information received from the Chinese traders whom he would meet there;

(*i*) that if he found it impossible to return from his destination before the monsoon, he might pass the wet season with the Chinese, provided he anticipated a friendly behaviour from them;

(*j*) that he should cautiously avoid doing or saying anything that might give offence or that might lead to inference, that his object is anything but that of opening a trade with them;

(*k*) that he should prepare a map of his route and fix the sites of the towns he would pass and the course of the rivers he would cross;

(*l*) that he should cautiously use his surveying instruments lest it cause jealousy or fear among the wild tribes;

(*m*) that he should endeavour to collect information on the produce of the countries through which he might pass, on the possible demand for English manufactures, as well as on the course of trade, the encouragement and protection afforded to traders besides other points that might prove useful towards opening a commercial intercourse;

(*n*) that he should note the manners and habits of the people, the nature of the Government, the influence, direct or indirect, of the surrounding more powerful natives of China, Ava and Siam, the estimation in which the English are held, the desire or otherwise of the people for cultivating intercourse with the English, as also the cause of any impediment that might exist towards it;

(*o*) that he should collect every information on such scientific subjects as the products of Natural History, Botany, Mineralogy and kindred sciences;

(*p*) that he should make inquiries about the state of the cattle trade as well as ascertain the probable continuance of supplies and the impediments that might exist to their free exportation;

(*q*) that he should collect information on the establishment of the Government and the state of affairs consequent on the death of the late principal Chief, Chowcheeweet (*sic*), the head of the family, whose successors retain among themselves the several Shan States to the north;

(*r*) that he should cautiously avoid all political subjects in his conversations with the Chiefs and if introduced by them he should tell them at once that his object is solely that of extending trade and nothing more;

(*s*) that he should particularly warn the natives of India who proceed to the Shan States for trade not to engage themselves in the slave trade, which trade they might find prevalent among the Shans and the red Karens.

13. One interesting point which we find in the above letter is that the "town of Mon La" was the chief centre where the Chinese traders from China met together in the early part of the nineteenth century for commercial purposes.

14. The following important points occur in the letter which Mr. Blundell wrote to Dr. Richardson:—

(*a*) that Dr. Richardson should be careful to see that no advantage is taken of his presence by the traders to evade payment of such duties as may be customary or may be fairly and lawfully demanded by the Burmese Government though he should resist all exorbitant demands and exactions;

(*b*) that he should try to secure, if possible in writing, from the several Chiefs he might visit on his way through, promise to allow him a free and unmolested return passage;

(*c*) that after accompanying the caravan under his charge to its destination and securing for it the protection of those in authority there, he should endeavour to reach Ava, after which he should report to Lieut.-Col. Burney, the English Resident of the place, the result of his accompanying the caravan;

(*d*) that he should be perfectly frank as to the object of his Mission explaining to the authorities of the places through which he might pass that it was solely for the purpose of opening a trade between their countries and the English territories, where a ready market would be found for their produce, that this Mission was proceeding;

(*e*) that he should take particular note of everything of a commercial nature, of the demand for English manufactures among the rude tribes of Burma, of the things obtainable in return, of the feelings and wishes of the Native Chiefs, and of the people with regard to more intimate intercourse with the English, of the duties or tolls demandable at the several towns and of the protection afforded to the traders from British provinces.

15. From the following extracts it may be gleaned that the land through which Dr. Richardson had to pass was to the European travellers a *terra incognita*—a land untrodden by civilised man before. The records say:—"Having conducted the caravan through the Karenni country you will enter others of which little or nothing is known beyond the fact of their being dependent on Ava." Again it is noted: "As the route you will have to traverse is unknown to us and has not hitherto been visited by Europeans, I am unable to give you any but general instructions as to the best mode of effecting your object."

16. Mr. Blundell paid so much interest in these Missions that not content with giving salutary instructions to these Officers, he further provided them with letters of instruction to the different Chiefs through whose countries they would pass, asking for safe conduct and assistance. Among those so addressed were the Chief of Laboung, the Chief of Zimmay, the Chief of Kienyoungji, the Chief of Mon La, the Chief of Tallay, the Chiefs of the Karen countries (Pa Bo, Pa Bang and Kay Ba) and the Chief of Mone. These letters of introduction are all, more or less, of a similar nature. One of these, given in the Appendix B, should convey to the reader an adequate idea of what they were all like.

17. In the letter of Lieut.-Col. H. Burney, Resident at Ava, to W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Government of India (Pol. Dept.), dated Ava, the 18th March, 1837, there is an interesting account of the passage [13] of Dr. Richardson from Moulmein to Mone. We learn from it that Dr. Richardson and Capt. McLeod after leaving Moulmein on the 13th December, 1836, travelled together up to the Northern frontier of the Tenasserim Provinces and then separated. The former turned his course in a north-easterly direction and the latter went towards the north-west. Dr. Richardson arrived at the Shan town of Mone on the 22nd February, 1837. It may also be gleaned from this letter that during his passage through the countries of the wild tribes he was "treated throughout in the most civil and friendly manner by the Karens who provided him with food and guide; they also promised every facility and assistance to the traders who might pass to and from Moulmein through their country." Such, however, was not the case with him when he left the Karenni country and entered those under the Burmese king

[13] Pol. Con. the 10th July, 1837, No. 66

(the king of Ava). At the Burman cities of Moukmai and Mone, Dr. Richardson and his party were insulted in every way, short of violence. At Mone they were detained and were disallowed to proceed any further by the Chief authority of that place (styled Tsitkegyih), on the ground that the presents and letters sent from Moulmein by Dr. Blundell, through Richardson, to the king of Ava were not addressed to him. At the intervention of the king, however, they were subsequently released. We further learn from these records that Capt. McLeod, after his separation from Richardson, arrived at the town of Kyaingtoun on the 15th March, 1837. From Mone, Dr. Richardson directed his journey towards Ava and from Kyaingtoun, Capt. McLeod went towards the countries bordering on China. "The journey between Mone and Ava took in those times from 8 to 14 days, and that between Kyaingtoun and Ava, passing through Mone, from 18 to 31 days according as a man travelled express or leisurely."

18. The letter of Col. Burney besides giving an interesting topographical description of the wild tracts through which Dr. Richardson had to pass from Moulmein to Mone also gives us some information about the Government of the Shan provinces under the Burmese king (the king of Ava). An extract from the letter shows that " the whole route from Moulmein to Mone, after crossing the Toungain, was interminable hill and jungle, with the exception of the valleys of Main Lenggyih, Kadoo, Banthaut and Moukmai, the last the largest, perhaps, 25 or 30 by 15 or 20 miles; he (Dr. Richardson) had before formed no idea of the populousness of the Karenni country, in travelling through which for several days he had found the whole of the hills well and carefully cultivated and the little valleys between terraced and irrigated in the Chinese style with the greatest neatness and regularity." Again, "in most of the Shan Provinces subject to Ava, a Burmese or half Shan and half Burmese Officer, styled Tsit-ke-gyih, is stationed by the Prince Bo Mhu Woon (*sic*) as the Superintendent or a kind of Secretary of State of Ava for all the Shan Provinces. This Tsitke has entire charge of the political relations and exercises great control in all other matters over the Shan Chiefs or Tsaubwa."

19. It appears from the records that towards the beginning of the year 1838, Dr. Richardson was at Moulmein after finishing his Ava tour and the letter [14] of Mr. Blundell to Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Government of India (Pol. Dept.), dated Moulmein, the 23rd February, 1838, informs us that he proceeded about this time to Calcutta on board the ship "*Diana*" on a month's leave. While at Calcutta he was " employed [15] in supervising the compilation of a new map of the Southern Burman Territory." We find from subsequent records [16] that he returned to his duties at Moulmein towards

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[14] Sec. O. C. the 14th March, 1838, No. 17.
[15] Sec. O. C. the 14th March, 1838, No. 18.
[16] Pol. O. C. the 25th April, 1838, No. 183.

the end of April, 1838, on board the ship, the "*Ganges.*" The exact time when Capt. McLeod returned from his China tour cannot, however, be ascertained from the records.

20. These Missions were fraught with immense good to the Company as well as to the crude tribes of Burma. The Missions not only opened a safe and busy market for the Company on the Frontiers of China for British goods, but they gave as well an impetus to the inland trade of Burma; and the goodwill of the tribes towards the Company ushered in a new era of civilisation for the Burmese. It was one of the first links of the chain that now joins in close union, Burma with its teeming population, with the mighty millions that go to form the British Indian Empire.

APPENDIX A.

Report from Dr. D. Richardson, to E. A. Blundell, Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, dated Moulmein,—June, 1835, regarding his commercial tour through the wild tracts of Burma.

" I am happy to state that I found no diminution whatever of the kindly feeling that has always existed towards us among the Chiefs of Laboung, the first town that I visited from Moulmein. I regret, however, to report the death of the old Tsawbwa,* Chowtcheweet (*sic*), during my residence in the country. This person has always been warmly attached to us and being the head of the Family from which all the Chiefs of the neighbouring towns and States are sprung, his influence in our favour has no doubt greatly extended towards exciting the kindly feelings with which we seem to be everywhere regarded. At Zimmay, the " Chow Hona " or heir-apparent, the most influential of the Chiefs and in fact the active Member of Government, is not inclined to regard us so favourably as the other Chiefs. I think that were it not for the decided feeling of both Chiefs and people in our favour throughout the whole country that this man would greatly injure our present relations with them, as it is in Zimmay alone are there any impediment to the free and unrestricted trade with us in cattle. Since my last visit, the Chow Hona (heir-apparent) has issued an order that the Moulmein traders purchasing cattle shall produce the persons from whom the purchase was made at the " Youn " or court. This amounted to a virtual prohibition and after some discussion I obtained the order to be altered into all purchases of cattle to be made in presence of the Thughe or headman of the village where the seller may reside, though this is a restriction which is not laid in Laboung (the first city visited) where the people from Moulmein are merely required to take out a pass at the Youm with which they may go through the whole country

* *Tsawbwa* means " The ruler of a Shan State."

and make any purchases they like. Another obstacle placed in the way of our traders at Zimmay is in the delay that occurs in granting them their passes to quit the country. I found a party of 8 or 10 who had been waiting ten days for their pass and had been daily put off. I pointed out the injury thus suffered by our people and their pass was granted at once and to all other applicants during my stay at Zimmay, though I fear the old system of delay may again be resorted to. I may mention here that after my arrival at Zimmay, a grand festival was to take place, for which I was strongly pressed to stay. One of the amusements at this festival was the letting off of large rockets, each rocket being honoured with some name and supposed to appertain to some Chief or great personage. One was appropriated to me and my coolies and servants being joined by a number of Moulmein traders then in the place, who entered into the spirit of the thing, my rocket was well attended to the ground with dancing and singing to the delight of the Shans to whom Burmese music and dancing was quite a novelty. The rockets were all of wretched construction but it so happened that mine performed its duty in a style infinitely superior to any on the ground and such is the superstition of these people that I feel confident that this incident has made an impression on their minds of the superiority of our nation which will not easily be effaced.

2. From Zimmay I proceeded to Lagoun to which my visits had not extended on my former mission. Here I was received with a warm welcome and great attention and hospitality. The Chiefs of the place seemed really pleased at seeing me and at having an opportunity of expressing their goodwill towards us. Indeed throughout the country both Chiefs and people in all the conversations which I had an opportunity of holding with them seem really grateful for the comfort and happiness they now enjoy, free from the destructive inroads of the Burmese and from the incessant calls on both their persons and their purse towards the defence of their country. Owing to our occupation of these provinces they (Lagounese) can now till the ground and look after their fields without the necessity of being armed or of securing their wives and children in their forts and strongholds. The question was often put to me why we do not avail ourselves of the Treaty of Yandabo and take possession of the country east of the Salween and north of our Shan neighbours which is dependant on the Burmese. There is no doubt that the Shan Chiefs would gladly see us do so and as a large portion of the population of these States are Northern Shans, I imagine that the people of the country itself would be equally glad to place themselves under us to avoid the exactions and impositions of their present rulers. At Lagoun, indeed, the Chief did not seem to be perfectly certain whether we (the English) had not already taken possession of the country (east of the Salween) for they consulted me about attacking a village of Meelat Shans (*sic*) lately established between Reintheen (*sic*) and Kaimtaung (*sic*) and enquired whether it was by our

orders that it was established; if not, they were inclined to attack it. I told them that though the Treaty of Yandabo gives us all the possessions held by the Burmese to the eastward of the Salween, we had never pushed our claim to the northward of this and that it was a town of the Burmese but advised them, as they wished to avoid the miseries formerly suffered by the inhabitants of the part of the country, to let them alone.

3. Lagoun is equal in size and equally populous with Zimmay. It is situated on the banks of the Maywang, a small stream, that for the greater part of the year is not navigable even for the smallest boats; neither is it available for the purpose of irrigation. The consequence is that the people complain of the scarcity and dearness of provisions, but I would say that this is much their own fault as vegetation is as luxuriant and vigorous as in any other part of the country and that a less slovenly mode of cultivation would secure them an abundant supply of provisions.

4. There exists a difficulty with the Chiefs whom I visited with regard to the punishment of our subjects who commit offences within their jurisdiction owing to the idea that we should resent such an exercise of their authority. I disclaimed any such feeling on our part and referred them to the treaty of Bankok which (*sic*) they would find that offenders against the laws of one country are to be tried by those laws and by the Judges of that country. A fear or delicacy, however, on this subject seems still to exist among them. For, on my return route to this place from the country of the red Karens a letter met me from the Chief of Zimmay to say that two Toungthoos had carried off a slave of Chen Rajawoong and had been caught four or five marches from Zimmay. They desired to know what they were to do in this case. Having no writing materials with me at the time I returned a verbal message to the effect that though slavery was unknown to us and consequently the crime of seducing away a slave, yet that these persons well knew such was the laws of the country they were residing in and they must abide its consequences. I trusted however the length of time they had been in confinement pending a reference to me would be taken into consideration.

5. At Zimmay I found the caravan of Chinese traders consisting of 200 mules and horses. Three hundred more were said to be at Moungnan where cotton is abundant. They had arrived in the country a considerable time before me and were preparing shortly to return home. I had a good deal of conversation with two heads of the caravan who seemed to be intelligent enterprising characters. They said they had long entertained the idea of visiting Moulmein and now that they were invited to do so and were assured of protection they would undoubtedly do so the next season, the present one being too far advanced to allow of their increasing their distance from home. They requested that an interpreter should meet them at Zimmay and from their repeated requests that he should be at Zimmay in all November in order to accompany them down, I feel convinced these people will be at Moulmein

before the end of this year. With the Chiefs I found no difficulty whatever in obtaining their consent to their passing through the country. No objection was even hinted nor have I reason to expect that any will hereafter arise.

6. The imports by these caravans consist of copper and iron vessels, silk (raw and manufactured), satins, gold and silver thread and lace, musk, walnuts, carpets and vermillion. Their exports from the Shan country are cotton, ivory, skins and horns, etc. From the information which I could collect, the caravan assembled at Moungkoo, distant from Zimmay about two months' journey. Their goods are conveyed by mules and they would appear to travel rapidly as they asserted they would not be more than 12 days from Zimmay to Moulmein. They allow nothing to detain them on their journeys. If a man falls sick or is disabled, he is left behind and if one dies, they do not even stop to bury him but cover his body with a cloth and continue their route.

7. On the third part of my instructions that relative to the exactions from the Karens living on our side of the Thoungyeen river I experienced rather more opposition than I had anticipated. I broached the subject to Chow Hona of Laboung, the first town I visited, but he referred me to Zimmay whose jurisdiction extends in that direction. On my arrival at Zimmay and at my first visit to the Tsaubwa and the assembled minor Chiefs I called their attention to what was said in your letter about the exactions levied from our Karens. They seemed reluctant to enter on the subject but I obliged them at last to acknowledge they were aware of the fact. They pleaded immemorial custom. I pointed out that they might have done so when the Burmese had the provinces who might not have been in the situation to prevent them but that now under us, they must as much refrain from levying on the Frontier Karens as from the town of Moulmein itself and explained to them in the most positive manner that we would not allow a continuance of such acts. These strong observations were evidently not palatable and after a short silence one of the minor Chiefs said " you should not speak so strongly on so small a subject. Let us consider of the matter and we will give you an answer before you go." In the discussion, Chow Hona, and leading man in Zimmay, to whom I have already referred as being less favourable towards us than the other Shan Chiefs was the only speaker. The old Tsaubwa himself being nearly a cypher in his Government and ruled in all he says and does by Chow Hona who was puzzled and his dignity hurt. So I learnt subsequently by my strong language as he would be considered to have greatly fallen in the eyes of the people had he immediately given in and assented to my remark.

8. The festival to which I have above alluded precluded any further discussion on this or other subjects as the Chiefs were too much taken up with it to attend to business. On its completion I received a visit from some of the minor officers of Government evidently with the intention of sounding me as

to my determination to persevere in the demand I had made for their exactions south of the Thaungyeen being put a stop to, in order that when I again met the Chiefs, Chow Hona's dignity might not be lowered by having to give in to me. Consequently in my next official visit on asking for the result of their deliberations I was promised that no repetition of the exactions complained of should take place. A counter complaint was then made to me of our Karens having seized and confined one of their officers who was levying the usual exactions and obtained restitution of what he had levied. I replied that you (Mr. Blundell) were ignorant of this circumstance when I left Moulmein, that I had reported to you from the frontiers, and that I was confident you would cause an investigation to be made into it. I remarked, however, at the same time that I could not consider our Karens to be much to blame for redemanding what should never have been taken from them, though their mode of doing it was irregular. You desire me in your instructions to demand the restitution of what may have already been levied by the Shans on our people; but considering that the question of right had been freely yielded and that the Shans had been encouraged to continue their exactions by the tameness and timidity of the Karens who of themselves had never represented the circumstance at Moulmein and considering too the small amount levied, I thought it would have seemed beneath us to demand restitution and be treating them with too much strictness and severity. I hope this deviation from my instructions will not be disapproved of.

9. At this meeting it was agreed that a duty of $1\frac{1}{4}$ rupees should be levied on each teak tree felled by our cutters within their jurisdiction. These trees being valueless to them owing to their not being able to convey the timber from the forest against the stream, Chow Hona in the first instance scouted the idea of levying duty on jungle trees.

10. It was my wish and intention to have visited the Shan towns of Moung Pay and Moungnow but owing to my late arrival in the country and to my detention at Zimmay I found I could not accomplish such visits and one to the red Karens. I returned therefore from Lagoun to Laboung in order to make preparation for my trip to the Karen country. Here I found the Shan Chiefs of all the associated States assembled to perform the funeral rites over the body of Chowtcheweet, the late Tsaubwa and the acknowledged head of their family. Here I had to enter into long and disagreeable discussions relative to the three elephants which had been stolen at Moulmein on several occasions and which had been traced to Laboung and the thieves discovered. The difficulty arose from the thieves being proteges or dependants of Chow Hona of Laboung who alone opposed restitution of the property or the punishment of the thieves. I at last threatened that unless I could report to you that this business was satisfactorily settled you would refer it to Bankok. This alarmed them, as under present circumstances they must deprecate any reference against them to the king of Siam, who might take

advantage of the opportunity to place a stranger in the situation of the deceased Tsaubwa. Still the settlement was put off till the arrival of the "Tsaubwa" of Zimmay who had returned to his town for a few days and I was obliged to quit without knowing the result of their deliberations. I learn however, by the messenger who met me on my return from the red Karen before mentioned that the affair had been terminated to the satisfaction of the owners of the elephants who had accompanied me from Moulmein.

11. At this assembly the chiefs seemed on very bad terms with each other and their deliberations were conducted with much acrimony and on one occasion with personal violence. The Chow Hona of Laboung appeared to have given general dissatisfaction though he again was full of complaints against the others. This mutual bad feeling was shewn in the inditing of the letter brought by me to your address from the Chiefs of Laboung. I was informed by one of them that when it was read to Chow Hona he ordered his name to be struck out without assigning any reason. When I called on him to bid him farewell I asked him why he had done so. He begged me to assure you that no disrespect towards you was intended by it, that the letter had been written without in the least consulting him and though it was a very good letter yet he declined to have his name in it under such circumstances. He then went on to say that the death of the old man whose obsequies they were then celebrating would, he feared, be the cause of much evil and misery to the country owing to their own dissensions.

12. Having at last obtained the letter intended for you and having been furnished with an order for guides from the frontier to the Karenne country, I left Laboung on the 25th March for the red Karens. It is not necessary that I should here enter into any details of my journey but merely to state that though the tract of land occupied by these Karens lies due west from Zimmay and Laboung yet the road always taken is South-west to Meenlung-ghee (*sic*) and from thence North-westernly (*sic*) to Baning (*sic*), commonly known as the red Karen landing place. This is a wretched insignificant village containing no more than 25 or 30 huts but it is the emporium of the trade of these savages (Red Karens). Such is the timidity of the Shans and the dread in which they hold these people that they never venture into the country if they can avoid it but bring their cattle and money to this place where they exchange them for slaves and sticklac. These slaves are Shans like themselves but of the country west of the Salween dependant on Ava whom they purchase with the greatest indifference and, though they treat them well as slaves, without one thought of the misery their encouragement of the practice causes their fellow creatures.

13. Before crossing the Salween I was visited by the headman of the village and the son of the Chief by whom a visit from Moulmein of a European officer was last year requested but they appeared to be two of equal and joint authority. They seemed undecided at first, which Chief I should visit.

At last they determined on the youth's father as the other Chief is but a youth himself. My Shan friends who accompanied me as guides at first declined going any further but from mere shame, I believe, at deserting me, crossed the river with me and accompanied me to the Chief of their much dreaded allies. I reached the residence of this personage in three days after crossing the river (the Salween), a good sized village situated in some tableland about 1,021 feet by thermometer above the level of the sea. Above this again at a height of about 2,049 feet above the sea was another ledge of tableland and a third again above that, which last is said to be of some extent and exceedingly fertile. It is owing to the favourable sites of these places that they have been able to maintain their independence against the whole force of Ava though armed themselves only with bows and arrows with a few matchlocks among them. The Chief's residence, dignified with the name of the palace, was a wretched, ill-constructed wooden house with no other means of admitting light than the crevices between the planks. There was a fire in the middle of the room and what with the stench arising from rotten yams strewed over the floor and the effluvia from a close room crowded with these abominably dirty people, my audience was far from pleasing. I said I had come with a letter and presents from you agreeably to the message you had received from him that an English officer should visit his country. He said he made the request that he might know whether we would join him in an attack on the Burmese. I explained that we could not do so as the Burmese were now our friends. I then requested his protection for our traders who might visit or pass through his country. This he readily promised and that he would make known my request to all the Chiefs of his tribe. I remained three days at this place during which time some Moulmein traders who (on the faith of my intended visit) had penetrated northward to the Burmese Shan countries, returned and informed me that they had fallen with a caravan of Chinese who expressed their desire to visit Moulmein but were afraid to trust themselves in the hands of Karens. Our traders had made a very profitable trip selling their piece goods at a very large profit and bringing back ponies and sticklac with them. I have every reason to flatter myself that the road to the North-western Shan is now open through the Karen country and if these people can manage to elude the vigilance of their Burmese masters and instead of passing through the large towns of Toungho, Shoaygine, Seetang and Biling (*sic*) plundered successively by their Governors and harassed with exactions of all kinds, they will come direct to Moulmein, our commercial interests in this quarter will be very highly benefited; at all events if the Shans themselves are prevented from availing themselves of the opening now made for them, there is no impediment to our traders seeking them.

14. I quitted the Karen Chief's residence on the 16th April and arrived here on the 10th May. I met at Meuloonghee (*sic*) an elephant on its way

down as a return present from the Chief of Zimmay. I received also two elephants for a similar purpose from the Chief of Laboung which, however, I regret to say have both died since my arrival here. The Chief of Lagoun having intimated his intention of sending you 30 milch cows as a return present. I left three men at that place to bring them down.

15. I regret to state that three of the Government elephants with which I was furnished for my journey died at different periods.

16. I have the honour to forward you the letters to your address from the several Chiefs in reply to those from you presented to me and I beg leave to conclude my report with a short summary of the advantages likely to be derived from my mission.

17. I need not descant upon the great importance of opening a market with the frontiers of China for British goods by means of the caravans of Chinese traders. It is probable that on the first visit of these people to Moulmein their numbers will be few but when once aware of the safety and freedom from all vexations and exactions with which their visits will be attended and of the extensive market existing for their goods, I think there can be no doubt we shall see them here in future years in great numbers. I learnt from the people and also from other quarters during my travels that no difficulty would exist in our traders visiting the frontier towns of China. The Chinese asserted there were no guards and no restrictions in their towns and a person of some rank at Labon (*sic*) pressed me to accompany him next year on a trading expedition in that direction. I cannot but think this subject is worthy of consideration of the Government and should anything of the kind be deemed advisable, I should be most happy to offer my services.

18. An extensive opening for our inland trade has been made by securing the good-will towards us of the red Karens and it is possible that the intercourse with these people now commenced may lead eventually towards their civilization and that our influence with them may hereafter be successfully exerted in putting an end to their system of kidnapping and selling their neighbours, which now forms their sole occupation. I learnt that 300 to 400 unfortunate beings are annually caught by these people and sold by them into perpetual slavery. I met many of them on my journey, some just purchased and some on their way to be sold.

19. The kind feelings of our North-Eastern Shan neighbours towards us have been increased by my late visit. The mixture of firmness and conciliation which I had it in my power to exhibit towards them on the points discussed has tended to convince them that we are firm and consistent friends not desirous of aggrandising ourselves at their expense but at the same time not to be imposed on or trifled with."

APPENDIX B.

To

THE CHIEF OF LABOUNG.

" When Dr. Richardson returned to Moulmein in the month of Kastoung 1197 (May, 1835) he reported to me that he had been most kindly received by you, and that you stated that you would permit an English Officer to pass through your territories and afford him every assistance should I wish to send one to the countries beyond your's, even to China. I have reported this to the Ruler of India, and I have received his orders to depute an Officer on a friendly visit to China and to the intermediate countries, in order to open a road of trade with them, to obtain their permission for our traders to visit them, and to recommend their traders to bring their produce to Moulmein and exchange it for our's. The Officer whom I send is Captain McLeod, the Governor of Mergui, whom I hope you will receive as kindly as you always have done Dr. Richardson, and that you will find him equally agreeable to you. Dr. Richardson has this year gone with a caravan of traders to Mone, as it is the wish of the English to become known to and to trade with all the countries in the neighbourhood in order to the mutual benefit of all. As there is now a constant intercourse between your country and Moulmein, and numerous traders from hence go annually to Laboung and reside there a long while, it is desirable that an officer should occasionally visit you in order to thank you for the protection afforded to our traders and to ascertain your wishes, and whether by the misconduct of inferior persons any offence is given that may injure the strong friendship that ought always to exist between us. Nothing has occurred here to give offence, and if anything has occurred in your country, Capt. McLeod will hear it and report it to me. After this I hope you will fulfil your promise and allow Capt. McLeod to go on his journey to the countries and afford him every assistance and protection he may require. To open a trade with other countries is a good work, because the people of all countries benefit by it. Moulmein is a seaport town from whence the produce of distant countries can be conveyed to all parts of the world in ships, which bring other merchandize to Moulmein. It is therefore the wish of the English to induce the people of distant countries to bring their products to Moulmein because it will always sell well, and they can purchase English articles cheap. Therefore Capt. McLeod is deputed to point this out to the countries between your's and China. You will benefit also by so large a trade passing through your country and your name will become renowned among the English who will always be your friends. As a promise was given to Doctor Richardson on his last visit to allow a free permission to traders to pass to and from Moulmein through your territories, and as some Chinese traders visited Moulmein last year, I feel confident you

will continue this friendly permission, and Capt. McLeod will report to me your wishes on this subject. I have given Capt. McLeod a few presents for you as a token of respect and friendship."

(Sd.) E. A. BLUNDELL,
Commissioner,
Tenasserim Provinces.

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at the Council Chamber Building, Rangoon, on Thursday the 8th December, 1927.

Present:

1. Mr H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona (in the Chair).
2. Mr G. S. SARDESAI, B.A. (Poona).
3. Mr D. G. E. HALL, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., I.E.S., Professor of History, University of Rangoon and Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission (co-opted).
4. Mr. G. H. LUCE, M.A. (Cantab.), I.E.S., Lecturer of University College, Rangoon (co-opted).
5. Mr PE MAUNG TIN, M.A., B.Litt., I.E.S., Professor of Oriental Studies, University of Rangoon (co-opted).
6. Mr U. BA DUN, Bar-at-Law, Secretary, Burma Legislative Council (co-opted).
7. U. KHIN MAUNG, B.A., M.L.A., Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Rangoon (co-opted).
8. Mr J. S. FURNIVALL, B.A., I.C.S., (Retd.), Director, Burma Book Club, Rangoon (co-opted).
9. Rai Bahadur Pandit SHEO NARAIN, Advocate, Lahore High Court; President, Punjab Historical Society; and Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission (co-opted).
10. Mr MESROVB, J. SETH, M.R.A.S., Member of the Council of the Calcutta Historical Society (co-opted).
11. Mr H. G. FRANKS, Journalist, Bombay (co-opted).
12. Mr SYED KHURSHED ALI, M.A., Hyderabad (co-opted).
13. Mr V. S. WAKASKAR, Baroda (co-opted).
14. Mr A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A., (Secretary).

Review of the action taken on the Resolutions of the Commission passed at their ninth meeting.

A conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Government of Bengal on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their ninth meeting was placed on the table (*vide* App. A).

The action taken on Resolutions Nos 1-3, 9 and 10 were approved. After considering the other matters dealt with in the conspectus and the following note by Mr H. G. Rawlinson, Resolutions Nos 1-6 were passed by the Commission.

Note by Mr Rawlinson regarding the treatment of official records and other historical materials in the Bombay Presidency.

The Parasnis Collection.

As explained last year, the collection falls into two parts (i) historical documents, MSS, books, etc; (ii) pictures. As regards the former, it will be remembered that the Government of Bombay provided a Museum at the cost of 1½ lakhs, besides spending Rs 15,000 on furniture and sanctioning a recurring grant of Rs 5,000 for contingent charges. On the death of Rao Bahadur Parasnis, Government offered a pension of Rs 200 per mensem in perpetuity to the family, in return for a deed of gift donating these to Government. I understand that these terms have now been accepted. As regards the collection of Indian paintings, 311 in number, it was the original intention of Government to purchase these for the Prince of Wales Museum, but a number of difficulties came in the way. One of these was the impossibility of getting a reliable valuation. Dr Coomaraswamy, the well-known authority, valued them at Rs 30,000, another expert said Rs 38,000 to Rs 40,000 (while the late Rao Bahadur placed the price at between 2 and 3 lakhs! I believe that a proposal to buy the collection is now before the Sivaji Memorial Fund, but I have no information upon the progress of negotiations.

The Source Book of Maratha History.

This has been held up owing to the inability of Prof. D. V. Potdar to fulfil his undertaking to edit the Marathi portion of the work in question. It has now been entrusted to Prof. R. P. Patwardhan, I.E.S., and I hope that the MS. may be shortly ready for the printer.

Peshwa's Daftar.

The cataloguing of the Daftar has not yet been put in hand, though I understand that Government still has the scheme under consideration. The Poona Residency Records are, I understand, being investigated by Mr H. G. Franks, of the Times of India, with the assistance of a clerical staff supplied by Government, and I hope that it may be possible to lay some interesting details about the contents of these remarkable records before the next session of the Commission.

European Grave Yards in the Bombay Presidency.

There is an existing list of Tombs and Monuments (N. D. but probably 1912). This mass of material now requires correcting and editing. No action is contemplated at present.

The following six resolutions were passed:—

Preservation of the Parasnis collections of documents and pictures.

(See Resolution 4 of the Ninth Meeting.)

Resolution 1.—The Commission re-affirms its opinion of last year regarding the historical value of the Parasnis collection of pictures and urges that negotiations be reopened for purchasing them with the object of retaining them intact in India.

It also urges that the Parasnis collection of documents and books now in the possession of the Government of Bombay be thrown open to research scholars without further delay.

Examination and cataloguing of the Peshwas' Daftar and the Poona Residency Papers.

(See Resolution 5 of the Ninth Meeting.)

Resolution 2.—The Commission re-affirms last year's resolution regarding the Peshwas' Daftar and urges upon the Government of Bombay the necessity of making provision in their next budget to enable the work of preliminary inspection to be carried out immediately.

Resolution 3.—The Commission expresses its pleasure on learning that the Government of Bombay has assisted Mr H. G. Franks in transcribing and cataloguing the Poona Residency Records, and requests that the assistance should be continued until the work is completed.

Printing of selected inscriptions from the European graveyards in Western India.

(See Resolution 6 of the Ninth Meeting.)

Resolution 4.—The Commission again calls the attention of the Government of Bombay to the necessity of publishing as soon as possible the selected inscriptions from the European graveyards in Western India.

Collection of facsimilies of historical documents in the possession of private families in Oudh.

(See Resolution 8 of the Ninth Meeting.)

Resolution 5.—The Commission desires very strongly to learn what the Government of the United Provinces is doing with reference to the recommendation made at the last session for the setting up of machinery for the collection of facsimilies of documents of historical value in the possession of private families in the Province of Oudh and for obtaining whatever public records are available to replace the official records which have apparently been destroyed dealing with Lucknow and its history.

Introduction of Sturtevant Vacuum cleaners for preserving documents from the ravages of dust.

(See Resolution 7 of the Ninth Meeting.)

Resolution 6.—The Commission wishes to draw the attention of the Government of Burma to the recommendation made to the local governments regarding the advisability of having a Sturtevant Vacuum cleaner for preserving documents from the ravages of dust.

Publication of " The English Factories in India " in three separate series.

The India Office forwarded to the Government of India a memorandum by Sir William Foster suggesting that the series of publications entitled " The English Factories in India " which dealt with the whole of India together, should be terminated at the end of the fourteenth volume dealing up to the year 1669 and that from 1670 onwards this single series should be split up into three series representing the Western Presidency (Surat, Bombay, the Malabar Coast and Persia), the Coromandel Coast (Madras, Masulipatam, etc) and Bengal. The cost of each of the three new series was estimated at £300 per annum; the three series thus costing £900 annually. It was likely to take more than twenty years to complete the work. The Governments of Bombay, Madras and Bengal agreed to the breaking up of the existing series as planned by Sir W. Foster but so far as the financial responsibilities were involved the Government of Madras alone expressed their willingness to contribute towards the expenses of the series which related to that Presidency. Before deciding whether the Government of India or the Local Governments concerned should bear the costs, the Department of Education, Health and Lands wished to know the views of the Indian Historical Records Commission, as to the desirability or otherwise of conti-

nuing the publication of these works. The Secretary having explained the position in detail, it was resolved:—

Resolution 7.—The Commission strongly urges the continuation of the publication of the "English Factory Series" on the lines proposed and initiated by Sir William Foster; but considers that the work could be carried out in a more economical manner than that suggested in the proposed scheme if roughly seven years instead of four were included in each volume and the work carried out on a slightly less elaborate and extensive scale, in which case the series would be brought down to 1,708 in five or six volumes only for each Presidency, amounting to about fifteen or eighteen volumes in all. The work would then be completed in about twelve years at a cost of, say, £300 a year to each Presidency. The Commission hopes that this may be met in whole by the Central Government if the Local Governments concerned are unable to contribute to the expenditure. The Commission also begs to point out the supreme importance of this work for students not only of the history of British India but also of the history of the Marathas, Sikhs and other Hindu States and the history of the Moghul Empire.

Representation of India at the Sixth International Historical Congress to be held at Oslo in August 1928.

The Government of India received an invitation from the Consul General for Norway to send representatives to the Sixth International Historical Congress to be held at Oslo between the 14th and 18th August 1928 and desired to get the views of the Indian Historical Records Commission on the subject. A copy of the invitation circular and other papers were placed before the meeting by the Secretary; it was resolved:—

Resolution 8.—The Commission feels that it is unable to reply to the enquiry about India's representation at the International Historical Congress at Oslo in 1928 and to make any recommendation until it is informed by the Government of India whether the expenses of the delegate will be paid by them.

Destruction of torn or worn out "C" class papers of the Company period.

The Secretary placed before the meeting a very torn and illegible document of the Company period (*viz.*, Public Consultation, 17 August 1778, no 40) which has been classed "C" in accordance with the orders contained in the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, Resolution no 639-Genl, dated the 7th June 1923.

It was resolved:—

Resolution 9.—The Commission recommends that the paper should be destroyed and that the Secretary should place similar useless documents before the future meetings of the Commission.

Transfer of the records of the Company period in the custody of the Imperial Record Department from Calcutta to Delhi.

The Secretary placed before the Commission a report of the Records Sub Committee, dated the 12th November 1927, together with a note containing his views as the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India on the above subject.

Report of the Records Sub-Committee.

We beg to report as follows:—

1. Under the orders contained in the Department of Education, Health and Lands Resolution no 639, dated the 7th June 1923, the work of sorting and classifying the Company records was taken up in July 1923. The work is being done on the lines recommended by the Sub-Committee of the Indian Historical Records Commission in January 1923—*vide* Appendix A, Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings, Volume V. Sir Evan Cotton, the late Chairman of the Standing Committee, periodically examined the classification. Mr R. B. Ramsbotham, a member of the said Sub-Committee, also inspected the work from time to time. Both of them were satisfied with the quality and the progress made in the classification. It was originally estimated that the number of papers to be classified would be about 15,00,000 and that with a staff of 6 men the work could be completed in 15 years' time. This estimate was accepted by the Government of India. 3,05,107 papers were classified up to September 1927, leaving 11,88,783 papers to be dealt with. The average outturn of work has been 75,000 papers a year. Of the papers classified, there are 49,728 'A' class, 52,033 'B' and 2,03,346 'C'. The proportion of 'A' and 'B' papers taken together is about one-half to those classed as 'C'.

2. It may be mentioned that the full strength of six men could not be maintained all along owing mainly to illness among the office staff and to paying more attention to the weeding of the crown records, which the Government of India wanted to be expedited for transfer to Delhi. It is expected that the work will be completed in about 10 years' time more, or possibly earlier, say, 6 or 8 years, if more men could be detailed on the work.

3. Formerly with the approval of the Government of India all such records of the Company period as were taken out for press-listing were repaired and flattened without any distinction as to the nature of the documents

But since the introduction of the classification of records in July 1923 we have been repairing only 'A' and 'B' papers of the Company period in addition to Persian records and manuscript volumes such as indexes, proceedings volumes, etc. As the repairing of documents takes a lot of time, they are now being merely flattened. In this way an outturn of about 450 papers a day, *i.e.*, about 1,00,000 papers a year can be obtained, repairing being restricted to those badly damaged. On these lines the flattening work can be finished by the time the classification of records is completed.

4. The major portion of 'A' and 'B' papers have been preserved in more than one fold, and these have become so fragile and brittle with the lapse of a century in most cases that it is not possible to handle them with safety unless they are flattened and, with regard to several of them also completely repaired. Flattening should be followed by the protective patching and guarding of the weak spots, if the documents are expected to last longer.

5. We consider that the first duty of those entrusted with the care of archives should be the safe preservation of those archives irrespective of the use made of them. Bearing this in mind, we consider that the safe preservation of the Government of India archives at present housed in Calcutta will be gravely endangered by the proposed transfer in their present condition to Delhi, for reasons set forth below.

6. The climate of Delhi is not at all helpful to the preservation of old records, and the steel-shelves that have been provided in the Record Room at Dehli are likely to get heated during hot season. If unflattened and unrepaired papers are transferred to Delhi, some of them will undoubtedly perish in transit, while a large number will crumble to pieces in the hot storage rooms and dry air of Delhi before many years have elapsed. Owing to climatic conditions Delhi is a very unsuitable place for mending very old documents. A damp climate (like that of Calcutta) free from the dry heat, dry cold and sand-storms of Delhi or Agra, is most suitable for opening out and repairing brittle old papers. The report of the Librarian, Imperial Library, on "The Perishing of books in India" shows that the paper used during the Napoleonic wars (1796—1815) was peculiarly liable to quick decay in India (*e.g.*, Buchanan's *Travels in Canara*, 4 volumes, 1804). We have noticed that the paper on which Colonel J. Collins' despatches to the Marquess of Wellesley are written, though fairly thick, is brittle. These have not been printed nor even copied. And if these and similar State papers of the late 18th and early 19th century perish during transit or in the dry heat of Delhi, the loss to the student of British Indian history would be incalculable.

7. We beg to point out that the researches of Messrs S. C. Hill and G. W. Forrest among our earliest manuscript records (1757-1785) have corrected the prevailing public misconception and partisan misrepresentation of the character of Clive and Warren Hastings, and established their reputation

on the unassailable basis of historic fact. The policy and administration of Wellesley, Lord Hastings, Bentinck, and Auckland have been subject to similar controversy in their own days and after. It is only the study of the contemporary manuscript State papers that can enable the future historian to rectify their character. Their records have not yet been subjected to expert study and publication like those of Clive and Warren Hastings. It is, therefore, an inopportune time to transfer these Company records to Delhi and involve them in the risk of perishing.

8. It is also very necessary to prolong the life of Indian records till they have been minutely and carefully compared by modern critical scholars with their earlier printed versions (if any) or copied for publication. The old records which were printed before the time of a critical and careful scholar like Forrest (*i.e.*, before 1884) have been often found to be inaccurate when compared with the originals. For instance, the Fort St George Factory records, as edited by Dodwell, are strikingly superior to the previous publications of the same archives by J. T. Wheeler and Pringle. So, also, the Cornwallis Correspondence as printed by Ross has been found, on comparison with the manuscript originals, defective and incorrect in many essential parts (see the Times Literary Supplement review of Forrest's edition of the State papers of Cornwallis published recently).

9. There is a third consideration in favour of avoiding any risk to the Imperial Records now housed in Calcutta. This office contains an immense mass of *data* for the correct economic history of India under the Company. This subject has been much misrepresented by popular writers, and has not been studied by any one from the records, except by Professor J. C. Sinha, Ph.D., who has just touched the fringe of it (1765-85). The Official Keepers of Records have hitherto dealt with the political and military papers only. It is desirable that the *corpus* of these economic papers should not be broken up but kept in Calcutta till they have been studied by scholars.

10. Under these circumstances we are strongly of opinion that the Company records should not be removed to Delhi before they are classified, flattened and the badly damaged ones repaired, at their present place of preservation. The question of the disposal of the 'C' class papers will be taken up in consultation with the Indian Historical Records Commission after the work of classification is completed and none should be destroyed before we have finally inspected them.

JADUNATH SARKAR,
R. B. RAMSBOTHAM.

CALCUTTA,
12th November 1927.

Note regarding the transfer of the Company Records to Delhi.

As the Government of India now desire to decide the question of the transfer to Delhi of the records pertaining to the Company period now located in Calcutta, I beg to lay my views on the subject before the Members of the Commission.

2. In its report of the 12th November last the Standing Records Sub-Committee recommended that in the interest of historical research and for the safety of the documents themselves, the records belonging to the Company period should not be removed to Delhi before they were classified, flattened and the more damaged ones repaired. I entirely concur with this decision which the Sub-Committee arrived at after a most careful deliberation. It is fitting also to note that Sir Harcourt Butler, formerly Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department of Education, who inspected the Imperial Record Office at Calcutta in 1912, and carefully examined the condition of the Company records, stated in an office note that " the records before 1858 require to be flattened and repaired if not weeded, before they are removed to Delhi ".

I may also quote the opinions of two of the former Keepers of the Records of the Government of India. Sir E. Denison Ross in a note dated the 19th February 1912 mentions that " the climate of Delhi with its extreme heat in summer and its dust-storms is even less favourable than Calcutta to the preservation of old books and papers ". On the 30th January 1918, Mr A. F. Scholfield wrote: " The unflattened Persian records are really in rather a bad state. The paper is all very flimsy stuff; if they decay any more the difficulty of deciphering what is at the best of times obscure will be greater still; many of them, beautiful examples of *shikastah* writing on gold or silver sprinkled paper, ought to be flattened as soon as possible; the greater portion of them are originals without copies, so that if they perish they cannot be replaced."

It will be seen from the following extract from the Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records [Parliamentary Paper No Cd. 6361 of 1912, page 22, para. 82 (*b*)] that no duty of a Record Office is perhaps more important than the proper preservation of the documents entrusted to its care. " It is desirable that a more systematic method of reporting records in need of repair and of carrying out the repairs of records produced in the search room should be adopted. The handling of dilapidated documents is not only a source of inconvenience to the public but is also an obvious danger to the safety of the records ".

3. The records of the Company period deal largely with matters connected with the history of Bengal. Students often find it necessary to consult these papers to supplement the information acquired by them from the Historical Records of the Government of Bengal. The existence of the Government

archives as well as such learned institutions, as the Imperial Library, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Indian Museum, and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, has led Calcutta to be known as a centre for historical research. It is difficult for scholars to find such facilities and avenues of research in any other city in India. As long as the Company records continue to remain in Calcutta, they will materially help to advance the cause of research.

4. Once a document has been flattened and repaired it receives a new lease of life and as such may be able to survive the evil effects of the Delhi climate. In view of the above, I respectfully suggest that no step should be taken without mature consideration to transfer the Company records to Delhi in their present hazardous condition.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI,
Keeper of the Records of the Government of India.

RANGOON,
7th December 1927.

It was resolved:—

Resolution 10.—After a full discussion of the preceding notes it was unanimously resolved:—The Commission fully endorses the carefully considered views expressed by the Records Sub-Committee and strongly urges upon the Government of India the necessity of accepting the Sub-Committee's recommendation that the records of the Company period should not be removed to Delhi before they are classified, flattened and cased, and the damaged ones repaired in Calcutta, as in the opinion of the Commission, their premature removal would be attended with the gravest danger to the valuable historical documents in their present hazardous condition. The Commission further expressed the hope that the Government of India would give it an opportunity to examine the repaired documents before their transfer to Delhi.

Treatment of the historical records in the archives of the Government of Burma.

In a paper [1] entitled "The Record Room Rules in Burma" read before the public meeting of the Commission on the 7th December 1927, Mr J. S. Furnivall, B.A., I.C.S. (Retired), Director, Burma Book Club, gave a brief account of the state of records in Burma and made certain suggestions with regard to their treatment.

The following resolution was passed on the subject:—

Resolution 11.—(i) The Commission desires to draw the attention of the Government of Burma to the suggestions made in Mr Furnivall's paper read

[1] *See* pages 61-5.

before the Commission and recommends that they should be carried out with special reference to the following points:—

(*a*) To give effect to Professor Dodwell's recommendations, particularly those relating to the centralisation at Rangoon of all records not required for administrative use.

(*b*) That in giving effect to Professor Dodwell's recommendation of the appointment of a Record Keeper, special attention be paid to his recommendation that the Curator should deal also with vernacular manuscripts.

(*c*) That the Record Room Rules be revised along the lines suggested in Mr Furnivall's paper with a view to ensuring that due provision be made for considering them in their historical aspect.

(*d*) That steps be taken to collect and publish local and indigenous records.

(*e*) That the University of Rangoon should be invited to co-operate in respect of vernacular records with particular reference to those at present in its charge.

(*f*) That the desirability of placing the Historical Records Room on the new University sites deserves examination.

Further (ii). (*a*) The Commission considers that the feasibility of the historical manuscripts in the Bernard Free Library being placed fully at the disposal of the Historical Records Room should be examined.

(*b*) That an officer of the University should be appointed Curator of the Records in addition to his own duties for which he should be granted adequate extra allowance.

(*c*) That in the interim the Commission wishes to draw the attention of the Government of Burma to the very serious state of their old records and recommends that temporary measures to preserve them, pending permanent arrangements, should be made without delay, otherwise the Commission fears that irreparable damage will be done before the Records are permanently housed.

Free interchange of publications issued by the various Government Record Offices in India.

Free interchange of publications between the Central and Provincial Governments was discontinued some years ago on account of the introduction of a system necessitating payments for publications of the Central Government required for the use of Provincial Government and *vice versâ*. The Governments of Bombay and Bengal lately suggested that one copy of each publication issued by a Government Record Office in India should be supplied free of cost to all other Government Record Offices, as it will be useful both for administrative purposes and for the students who do research work at the

Record Offices. The Keeper of the Records of the Government of India cordially supported this proposal and moved the Government of India accordingly. A new system of budgetting for charges incurred on account of the free distribution of priced Government publications will be adopted from the 1st April 1928. Under this arrangement the cost of any central publication required by a Department of the Central Government, such as the Imperial Record Office is, either for its own use or for free distribution will be debited against the budget grant of that Department instead of the General Stationery and Printing Grant as at present. The Government of India desired that the question of giving effect to the proposal of free interchange mentioned above after the 1st April 1928 should be referred to the Indian Historical Records Commission for an expression of opinion. The necessary provision has been made in the budget estimate of the Imperial Record Office for 1928-29 for the free distribution of its priced publications to the Provincial Record Offices.

The following resolution was passed:—

Resolution 12.—The Commission recommends that there should be a free exchange between the various Provincial Governments and the Central Government of all Record Room publications, including those of the Imperial Record Department.

Representation of Burma on the Indian Historical Records Commission.

As the result of some discussion on the subject it was resolved:—

Resolution 13.—The Commission recommends that the claims of Burma to permanent representation on the Historical Records Commission be sympathetically considered when the next vacancy occurs.

Appointment of Messrs Panduranga Pissurlencar and H. G. Franks as corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

At the suggestion of the Secretary it was resolved:—

Resolution 14.—That Mr Panduranga Pissurlencar, Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences, Nova Goa, Portuguese India, and Mr H. G. Franks, Journalist, Poona, be recommended to the Government of India for appointment as corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission for the Goa and Poona centres respectively.

Practical utilization of historical records. Reproduction of old family documents in the Punjab.

Mr H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, and a member of the Indian Historical Records

Commission, who was unable to attend the Rangoon session sent the following notes for the consideration of the Commission.

(i) *Note by Mr Garrett on the practical utilisation of historical records.*

It is now some years since the Commission commenced its labours and the fruits of those labours are to be seen in many directions. One of the most important has been the knowledge acquired of the quantity, condition, and accessibility of the Records preserved in the various centres at which the Commission has held its sittings. It is my purpose to deal very briefly with the question of the utilization of these records for practical work. To my mind the Record Office of any particular province should be to the advanced student of History what his laboratory is to the Science student. May I illustrate what I mean by briefly describing what is going on in my own office in Lahore? In our case the local University requires an original thesis for the M. A. degree, and for some years theses have been written upon such topics as Akbar's religious views, Todar Mall's revenue system, etc., subjects upon which nothing more could be said which has not already been better said elsewhere. As soon as I assumed charge of the Record Office I set myself to get this changed, and the University then agreed to accept theses written within the period 1839-1884, *i.e.*, a period for which primary records were available for study. Since the initiation of this change the Record Office has never been empty, and at the present time there are eight students actually at work there. The output naturally varies with the student. Some theses are good others are not. Some are worth publishing, others could never be, even with much re-editing. As the former were a contribution to knowledge, but as lack of funds precluded publication, I approached Government to know if I might publish a selected number of theses at the Government Press as Government Record Office Publications, I myself acting as General Editor and being responsible for the suitability of those selected. The suggestion was approved and the result was the appearance of our present series. During 1927 the first three have been brought out entitled respectively, " A History of the Grand Trunk Road ", " A History of the Judiciary in the Punjab, 1849-1886 ", " The Old Police Battalions in the Punjab ". The titles indicate the variety of subjects and, in the course of the next few years, I hope to publish others dealing with such widely different subjects as the History of Lunatic Asylums, Irrigation, Jails, and various local episodes of the Mutiny (embodying original matter hitherto unused). The reception given to the monographs already published has been distinctly favourable and it certainly does seem a suitable way of making use of the work of post-graduate students in a practical way.

I have dealt with at length with what we are doing in the Punjab, in the hope that it may be of interest in other provinces. Our Records, compared

with those of the older provinces, are, of course, of far less bulk and age. If we, however, can utilize our small material in the way that I have indicated, which is tantamount to the initiation of a small local school of historical research surely such a scheme presents very great possibilities in the case of the older provinces with their vast store of records!

It may be objected that the position is not the same in all provinces and that in the Punjab we are in a peculiar position, in being able to make use of students reading for an M. A. degree. To this it may be replied that if it is not possible to utilize the records in connection with a Unversity Examination, it is the duty of the Local Government to stimulate research in its own Records by the provision of adequate Research Studentships.

(ii) *Note by Mr Garrett on the reproduction of Old Family Documents in the Punjab.*

A recent development in the Punjab Record Office may be of interest in other provinces. At the suggestion of H. E. the Governor, we have started a collection of facsimiles of documents of historical value in the possession of private families. The public has been invited, through the District authorities, to bring or send any such documents to us for inspection. If they are deemed worthy of reproduction, we have two copies made by Photostat, retaining one ourselves and giving the other to the owner. The response has been fairly encouraging and we already have an album half full of interesting documents. I might add that the same apply to historical pictures, which are equally well reproduced by the Photostat. Other Record Offices might find it worth while to give the scheme a trial.

It was resolved:—

Resolution 15.—(i) The Commission recommends that Mr H. L. O. Garrett's note on the practical utilization of historical records be circulated to all Universities in India.

(ii) The Commission further recommends that his note on the reproduction of Old Family Documents in the Punjab be circulated to all Provincial Governments for consideration and necessary action.

Publication by the University of Rangoon of photographic plates of all original inscriptions of Burma.

In his inaugural address at the tenth public session of the Indian Historical Records Commission on the 7th December 1927 His Excellency the Governor of Burma said:—

"There has, however, been considerable activity among those interested in the antiquities of Burma . . . there is a proposal of prime importance now before the University authorities to take steps to publish photographic

plates (taken from rubbings) of all the original inscriptions of Burma, as the French Government is doing to those of French Indo-China. Such a publication would provide the only solid basis for the study of Burmese history in the University.

The following resolution was passed on the subject:—

Resolution 16.—The Commission heartily endorses the proposal mentioned by H. E. the Governor of Burma in his inaugural speech and now being considered by the University authorities of Rangoon to take steps to publish photographic plates of all original inscriptions of Burma, and requests the Government of Burma to render all possible assistance in furthering this scheme.

Treatment of Records in the Bombay Secretariat.

The question of the treatment of the Bombay Secretariat Records having been discussed before the meeting it was resolved:

Resolution 17.—The Government of Bombay be requested to supply information on the following points:—

(*a*) To what extent have Records in the Bombay Secretariat been calendared and press-listed?

(*b*) Whether the work of calendaring or press-listing will be proceeded with in the near future?

(*c*) Whether the publication of further selections from the Bombay Records is to be undertaken?

(*d*) Whether the Government contemplate the appointment of a whole-time Curator of the Records?

(*e*) What steps will be taken for sorting and publishing press-lists of papers collected from local Kacheris?

(*f*) What rules are in force in the Bombay Presidency regarding the destruction of Records?

Preparation of Historical slides for use in schools and colleges. Photographic reproductions of manuscripts in the possession of private persons.

The Secretary placed on the table the following extract from a letter dated the 16th September 1927 from Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A., of New Poona College, Poona, and a corresponding member of the Commission containing suggestions on the above points.

Extract from Professor Potdar's letter.

"Will you kindly place the following suggestion of mine before the Commission's meeting at Rangoon? The proposal is that the Indian Historical

Records Commission should strongly urge upon the Government of India the work of preparation of historical slides—for use in schools and colleges. The slides may be of both kinds magic lantern slides as well as stereoscopic slides. I find from the list of exhibits attached to the report of the proceedings of our Indian Historical Records Commission that there are very useful interesting and highly artistic pictures and diagrams, maps, etc., available. Many more pictures can be secured from the illustrated manuscripts lying in great libraries beyond India. The excellent photographs in the possession of the Archæological Department may be also of great service. In fact their help would be very valuable in this field.

The teaching of Indian History would become far more *attractive* and *real* if such slides and pictures are made available. This is possible if only the Government of India takes up the work in hand. The Indian Historical Records Commission, private colleges and Research Societies and the Universities and the Archæological Department and the Indian States must all combine and co-operate in this great task.

Many manuscripts now in the hands of private persons may be sold or may perish in future or in any other way become unavailable for the public. It is necessary at least to preserve photographic copies of the same. In some cases coloured reproductions also may seem quite essential. The urgency of the steps urged by me is very obvious and hence I hope the question will be favourably considered by our Commission at its meeting in Rangoon and some practical turn given to it by asking the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, States and other Agencies to take some active steps for the fulfilment of the object outlined in this letter."

The Secretary was directed to inform Professor Potdar that his first proposal is outside the scope of the Commission. The second point is covered by the Resolution No. 15 (ii) passed by the Commission on the same subject.

Place of the next meeting.

It was resolved:—

Resolution 18.—That the Secretary be authorised to fix the place of the next meeting in consultation with permanent members of the Commission.

The following papers were laid on the table for the information of the Commission:—

(*a*) Annual Reports of the Imperial Record Department and the Provincial Record Offices in India.

(*b*) Report of the progress of sorting and classification of the records of the Company period in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Local Governments on the Resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Ninth Meeting.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
Resolution 1.—(i) A number of copies of the Bengal and Madras papers collected and printed by the late Sir G. W. Forrest as Officer in Charge of the Records of the Government of India and preserved in the Imperial Record Department (3 volumes) should be distributed free to— The Indian Universities (16). The Record Offices in India. The Research Societies in India. The Royal Asiatic Society, London. The British Museum. The London University. The Oxford University. The Cambridge University. The India Office. The Royal Historical Society. The Manchester University.	Approved . .	....	The papers have been properly arranged and the distribution to Record Offices in India will shortly be made. Some of the papers of which there are not a sufficient number of copies will have to be printed. As soon as this has been done steps will be taken by the Secretary for their distribution.
(ii) And that not more than 200 copies be put up for sale at Rs. 20 per volume and the Press-list at Rs. 15 a copy.	....	....	The price will be settled by the Secretary in consultation with the Manager, Central Publication Branch, Calcutta.
Resolution 2.—That the Commission, in view of the changed circumstances of the last seven years modify their former decision in favour of exclusively calendaring, and recommend that the Government of Bengal resume to print the Press-lists of the Proceedings of the Supreme and Intermediate Revenue Authorities on the lines on which they had been carried on in the past, in order to expedite publication.	The Resolution was brought to the notice of the Government of Bengal.	The Government of Bengal have resumed Press-lists of the Revenue Department Records from 1776 and those of an intermediate Revenue Authority from the latter part of 1773 (Proceedings of the Provincial Council of Revenue at Calcutta which was better known as the Calcutta Committee of Revenue).	

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
Resolution 3.—That the Commission welcome the idea of Thotostat Machine being introduced in such Record Offices as required frequent reproductions of old documents.	The Resolution was brought to the notice of the local Governments.		
Resolution 4.—(i) The Commission are of opinion that the negotiations of the Government of Bombay with Rao Bahadur Parasnis' heirs for acquiring his collection of historical papers should be brought to a speedy conclusion in order to guard against the risk of their being dispersed or lost to the country.	The Resolution was brought to the notice of the Government of Bombay.	....	From a report published in the "Times of India" on 2nd June 1927, it appears that a public movement was started in Bombay with the object of retaining the Parasnis' collection in India.
(ii) The Commission recommend to the Government of India that steps should be immediately taken to invite subscriptions from the public for purchasing the Parasnis' collection of pictures and historical relics for the nation and that the Imperial and Local Governments should be requested to contribute towards the purpose. In this connection the Commission beg to point out that the matter is one of urgent national importance as there is an immediate danger of the collection going out of the country.	After a careful consideration the Government of India did not consider it advisable to invite subscriptions from the public for purchasing the Parasnis' collection of pictures and they accordingly decided not to take any action on this resolution.		
Resolution 5.—That the Commission are of opinion that the work of examining and cataloguing the Peshwas' Daftar and the Poona Residency papers should not be delayed any longer, and that the money necessary for the purpose should be provided out of the current year's budget if possible in order to make an immediate start.	The resolution was brought to the notice of the Government of Bombay.		
Resolution 6.—That the Commission desire to draw the attention of the Government of Bombay to the necessity of publishing without delay the selected inscriptions from the European graveyards in Western India.	The resolution was brought to the notice of the Government of Bombay.		

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Local Governments.	REMARKS.
Resolution 7.—That the Commission wish to draw the attention of the various Record Offices to the desirability of having a Sturtevant Vacuum Cleaner for preserving documents from dust.	The resolution was brought to the notice of the local Governments.	....	A vacuum cleaner is worked in the Imperial Record Department and has been found to be very useful.
Resolution 8.—That in view of the fact that all public records available in Lucknow appear to have been destroyed, and considering the importance of Lucknow as a historic centre, the Commission recommend that steps should be taken to set up machinery for the collection of facsimiles of all documents of historical value in the possession of private families in the province of Oudh by means of a Photostat or some other method of permanent reproduction and collecting and making them available for scholars.	The resolution was brought to the notice of the Government of United Provinces.		
Resolution 9.—That Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, be recommended for appointment as a corresponding member for the Bombay Centre.	Approved.		
Resolution 10.—That the next meeting of the Commission be held at Rangoon.	Approved.		

APPENDIX B.

List of Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission (corrected up to the 7th December 1927).

Names.	Centres.
1. Khan Sahib Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, Agra.	Agra.
2. Mr S. T. Sheppard, Editor, The "Times of India," Bombay.	Bombay and Poona.
3. Mr H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona. (*Appointed member of the Commission.*)	
4. Mr G. S. Sardesai, B.A. (*Appointed member of the Commission.*)	
5. Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M.A.	
6. Mr D. V. Potdar, B.A., Professor, New Poona College, Poona.	
7. Sardar G. N. Majumdar, M. L. C., Poona.	
8. Dr Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.	Calcutta.
9. Rev. H. Hosten, S. J., M.A.	
10. Shams-ul-Ulama Khan Bahadur, Maulvi Hidayet Hosain.	
11. Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University.	
12. Mr Badruddin Ahmad, B.A., Assistant Registrar, Appellate Side, Calcutta High Court.	
13. Mr A. F. Rahman, B.A. (Oxon.).	Dacca.
14. Mr J. C. Sinha, M.A., Reader in Economics, Dacca University.	
15. Hakim Habib-ur-Rahman, Member of the Dacca University Court.	
16. Dr Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.	Kolhapur.
17. Mr H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore. (*Appointed member of the Commission.*)	Lahore.

Names.	Centres.
18. Mr A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., Dean of University Instruction, Lahore.	Lahore.
19. Mr J. R. Firth, M.A., Professor, Government College, Lahore.	Lahore.
20. Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., Lecturer, Government College, Lahore.	Lahore.
21. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain, President, Punjab Historical Society, Lahore.	Lahore.
22. Dr Radha Kumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History, Lucknow University.	Lucknow.
23. Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S.	Madras.
24. Dr John Mathai, B.L., B.Litt., D.Sc.	Madras.
25. Mr M. Ruthnaswami, President, Madras Legislative Council.	Madras.
26. Mr C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., I.C.S.	Madras.
27. Mr C. Hayavadana Rao.	Madras.
28. Mr C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.	Madras.
29. Mr J. F. W. James, M.A., (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law I.C.S.	Bhagalpur.
30. Mr J. N. Samaddar, B.A., F.R.E.S., F.R.Hist.S., Professor of History, Patna College.	Patna.
31. Monsieur Singaravelou Pillai, Curator of the Old Records of French India, Pondicherry.	Pondicherry.
32. Mr D. G. E. Hall, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Professor of History and Fellow of the University of Rangoon.	Rangoon.
33. U. Khin Maung, B.A., M.L.A.	Rangoon.

APPENDIX C.

Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts, Paintings, etc., exhibited at Rangoon in connection with the 10th Annual Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

From the Imperial Record Department.

1. *Farmans* relating to the English Trade in India particularly in Bengal and Orissa, 1633-1712. These are grants or orders made by Muhammadan rulers and governors and comprise rotographs of eight documents obtained from the India Office, with English translations.

2-6. Copies of *farmans* from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam granting the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company and copy of an agreement between the Company and the Nawab of Murshidabad, the previous *Diwan*, in consequence of the above grant. (Pub. Cons 9 Sep. 1765, nos 2-6.)

7-8. Lord Clive's proposals for appropriating the legacy of five lakhs of rupees conferred upon him by Nawab Mir Ja'far, and the present of 3 lakhs of rupees made to His Lordship by Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah, to the benefit of the Company's invalid servants and widows of those who lost their lives in the Company's service. Among the enclosures are translations of three certificates concerning the legacy of five lakhs (attested 12 Jan. 1767) given by Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah his mother, *i.e.*, wife of Nawab Mir Jafar, and Maharaja Nanda Kumar. (Pub. Cons 14 Apr. 1766, no 2 and 20 Jan. 1767, no 6.)

9. Original notes and minutes on the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India by Lord William Bentinck, Governor General, the Hon. A. Ross and the Hon. Lt.-Col. W. Morrison, C.B., Members of the Supreme Council, and Mr H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Government of India in the General Department; there are notes and remarks in pencil on Mr Prinsep's minute by the Hon. T. B. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, Member of the Supreme Council. February-March 1835. (Pub. Cons 7 Mar. 1835, no 19 and keepwiths.)

10. Lord Auckland's minute on the promotion of education among the natives of India. (G. G's Pub. Con. 24 Nov. 1839, no 10.)

11. Letter from Mr. H. Verelst to the Hon. H. Vansittart, dated Islamabad, 19 Sep. 1762, regarding the early history and the contemporary political situation in Manipur. Holograph. (Pub. Con. 4 Oct. 1762, no 5.)

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

12. An interesting account of the ancient system of government in Assam, its political and religious conditions and commercial aspects. (Pol. Con. 24 Feb. 1794, no 13-A.)

13. Agreement with Raja Surgo Deo, of Assam, requiring him to defray the expenses of the East India Company's troops serving in Assam. Bears the seals of the Raja and his Minister, the Bura Fogan. (Pol. Con. 24 Feb. 1794, no 16.)

14. Original letter from Her Majesty Queen Victoria to the King of Burma on his accession to the throne of Burma. Bears the original signature of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

15. From Bahu Begam, mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah of Oudh, complaining against the behaviour of her son and asking for the assistance of the Governor General in sending the coffin of her late husband Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah to *Karbala*. (Pers. 15 Nov. 1778, no 117.)

16. From Ali Ibrahim Khan, Judge at Benares, reporting that the Marathas have released Shah Alam from the room in which he was confined by Ghulam Qadir Khan after having been blinded by him. (Pers. 24 Oct. 1788, no 501.)

17. From Tipu Sultan, saying that he has deputed his *Vakils* to the Governor General in order to negotiate a treaty of peace with the East India Company. Bears the seal of Tipu Sultan. (Pers. 12 Feb. 1792, no 114.)

18. From Munni Begam, sending a letter to Sir John Shore for transmission to Warren Hastings, congratulating the latter on the occasion of his acquittal from impeachment. Bears the seal of the Begam. (Pers. 5 Nov. 1795, no 312.)

19. From Maharaja Siwai Partab Singh of Jaipur to Col. Murray, informing him that Capt. Murray has gone to the *mela* of Bhakkarji and to Chandgari to buy horses. Written in characteristic *Shikastah* style. Bears the seal of the Maharaja. (Pers. 25 Nov. 1795, no 359.)

20. From the Peshwa Baji Rao II, approving of the suggestion made by Col. Palmer that before declaring war against Tipu, who has concluded a secret treaty with the French it is necessary to enquire from him whether he still adheres to his engagements made at Seringapatam. Bears the seal of the Peshwa. 1798 A.D. (Pers. 20 Sep. 1798, no 361.)

21. From Maharaja Krishna Raja Wodeyar of Mysore, expressing his gratitude on being released and restored to the kingdom of his ancestors which had been usurped by the dynasty of Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Maharaja. (Pers. 12 July 1799, no 198.)

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

22. A geographical Sketch of the Punjab together with a history of the origin, life and progress of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 1830.

23. Communication in Latin from Emperor Joseph II of Austria, dated Vienna, 8 July 1792, to Haidar Ali, regarding the appointment of Mr W. Bolts as his Consul and Lieut. Imues as Inspector. Bears the signature of the Emperor.

24. Treaty with King Christan VIII of Denmark for transferring the Dutch Settlements in India to the English, dated 22 Feb. 1845.

25. Plan for establishing a route for mail from India to England *viâ* Red Sea. (Pol. Cons 11 Sep. 1812, nos 7-9.)

26. Introduction of postage stamps in supersession of the system of money payments as postage. These papers show what attempts were made at the time to print the stamps in India. (Pub. Cons 18 Mar. 1853, no 1; 1 Jul. 1853, nos 1-3; 12 May 1854, nos 44-5; 19 May 1854, no 64.)

27. Letter from Capt. W. Richardson submitting a report of his voyage from London to purchase slaves for Fort Marlbro. (Pub. Con. 22 Aug. 1765, no 1.)

28. Mr H. T. Prinsep's narrative of Alexander's expedition to India, *circa* 1842. (For. Dept., Mis. Records, no 346.)

29. Proclamation issued by the Nana Sahib to incite the Indian troops during the Mutiny of 1857, together with its translation, received from Mr Wynyard, the then Judge at Gorakhpore. (Pub. Con. 7 Aug. 1857, no 137.)

30. Minute by Brigadier-General Sir Robert Barker, Commander-in-Chief, on the formation of a militia for the internal protection of the country and the collection of revenues. (Sec. Con. 28 Jan. 1773, no 2.)

31. From Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah, of Oudh, Complimentary letter written in characteristic *Shikastah* style. Bears the seal of the Nawab. (3 Nov. 1784, no 86.)

32. From Nana Farnavis, Minister of the Peshwa, asking the Governor General to send military assistance to the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the writer. (14 Nov. 1785, no 94.)

33. From Haidar Beg Khan, a Minister of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah of Oudh. Congratulatory letter on the recovery of the King of England from his illness. (11 Aug. 1789, no 175.)

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

34. From Raja Bhim Singh, of Jodhpur, promising not to give protection to Wazir Ali Khan and his associates who had murdered Mr G. Cherry, Agent of the Governor General at Benares. Bears the seal of the Raja. (1 Jul. 1799, no 174.)

35. From Nizam Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad, intimating that he has made over to Capt. Kirkpatrick copies of the correspondence which passed between him and Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Nizam. (10 Feb. 1799, no 19.)

36. Letter from Warren Hastings to the Council, intimating the cession of Kora and Allahabad to the Nawab Vazir of Oudh in consideration for a sum of fifty lakhs of rupees and also his having settled certain other matters with the Nawab. (Sec. Con. 23 Sep. 1773, no 3.)

37. From Maharaja Siwai Partab Singh of Jaipur, informing the Governor General that Wazir Ali Khan has arrived in his country and is now in his custody. (17 Sep. 1799, no 260.)

38. From Peshwa (Narayan Rao) says that he will stick to the terms of the treaty and asks the Governor General to do the same. (12 Dec. 1778, no 138.)

39. From Raghunath Rao. Thanks the Governor General for his sending reinforcements to assist the Bombay Government on his behalf. (Bears the writer's signature). (16 Dec. 1778, no 94.)

40. Umdatul-Mulk Asaf-ud-Daulah Wala Jah Amirul Hind Zafar Jang, Nawab of Arcot. Reports that the English authorities took no steps to prevent Tipu Sultan's attack upon Poonamallee though they were informed of the danger beforehand. (29 Jan. 1792, no 49.)

41. Restoration of the Danish Settlements on the Coromandel Coast. (Foreign Cons 6 July 1816, nos 1-2.)

42. General Order by the Rt Hon the Governor General in Council expressing His Lordship's admiration and applause for the splendid achievements of the army under the command of H. E. Sir Samuel Auchmuty, the Commander-in-Chief of the expedition against the French Power in Java, congratulating the Native troops of the Bengal Army who had distinguished themselves by their valour in the most trying scenes of the War; announcing the commemoration of the victory by the distribution of medals to troops and by erecting at the Governor General's own expense a memorial to those who fell gloriously in the war. (Pol. Cons 15 Feb. 1812, nos 2-3.)

43. Address presented to Lord Canning, Governor General, by the Rajas of the Punjab and the Chiefs of Peshawar on the occasion of his visit

to those places 1859. (For. Miscellaneous, no 384.) (Original in Persian together with the printed English translation.)

44. Political O. C. 2 November 1835, no 55 regarding Dr. MacGregor's report on Maharaja Ranjit Singh's health.

45. Secret O. C. 7 August 1839, no 10 regarding report of Dr Steele on the Maharaja's health.

46. Secret O. C. 4 Dec. 1839, nos 78-80 containing the news of the last days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

47. Secret O. C. 23 April 1833, no 14 regarding the regulations for the opening of the navigation on the rivers Indus and Sutlej.

48. Translation of a treaty of alliance between the Vazir Shuja-ud-Daulah, and the Rohilla Sardars. (Written 11 Rabi-ul-Awwl, 1186 A. H.) (Sec. 23 Jul. 1772, no 3.)

49. Letter from Major A. Polier, reporting that the Nawab Vazir Shuja-ud-Daulah is dying. (Sec. 6 Feb. 1775, no 3.)

50. Letter from Major A. Polier, reporting the Nawab Vazir's (Shuja-ud-Daulah's) death, and communicating his last request. (Sec. 6 Feb. 1775, no 4.)

51. Specimen of handwriting in English of Abdul Ghyas Khan, son of Nawab Jabbar Khan of Afghanistan, while being educated at Ludhiana in 1834. (Pol. 21 Nov. 1834, no 145.)

52. From the Raja of Travancore. Has learnt from his (Governor General's) letter that the Dutch Government have directed their Governor to deliver up Cochin to the English. The Governor seems to ignore the commands of his masters and will therefore have to be punished. Bears the Raja's seal and signature. (Pers. 6 Oct. 1795, no 271.)

53. From the Raja of Nepal. Congratulates the Governor General on the success of the English fleet at Egypt. Has noted with pleasure that the Sultan of Turkey and the Czar of Russia have joined the English as active allies. Bears the Raja's seal. (Pers. 28 Sept. 1799, no 286.)

54. Letter from the Minister to the King of Rangam (Rangoon) intimating that the King has granted Lord Clive some ground in his city to make a Factory and Bankshall to repair and rebuild ships. (Home Pub. 1st Feb. 1768, no 2 (*a*)—16.)

55. Remarks of Capt. Forrest on the Islands of the coast of Mergui and the strait between them and the mainland. (Home Pub. 2nd July 1784, no 15.)

From the Imperial Record Department—*concld.*

56. Proposals of Mr W. Hollings for the exploration and survey of the coasts, commencing from the coast of Arakan or Ava. (Home, Pub. 6th July 1789, no 7.)

57. A manuscript showing the various styles of Persian Calligraphy. Illuminated folios.

58. Ticket for admission to the trial of Warren Hastings.

59. Tibetan wood-block. It is a block to print on paper or cotton a charm invoking the protection of Jhambala, the god of riches. The upper part consists of a gem in the centre, being the emblem of the god and surrounded by Sanskrit *mantras* in Tibetan script. Under the charm itself is cut out in Tibetan, an explanation of the charm, with directions as to its use.

60. Manuscripts illustrating the evils effects of using white tracing paper in repairing important documents. The tracing papers were subsequently peeled off and replaced by *mouseline de soie* (chiffon) (Pub. Cons 20 Sept. 1762, no. 1; 22 Nov. 1764, no 5; 11 Apr. 1785, no 31; 25 Apr. no D.)

61. A repaired manuscript volume illustrating how the isolated sheets of damaged volumes can be mended and made up into sections with guards to have durable and flexible binding. (Index to Register of Deeds, Vol. 11, 1792-1811.)

62. A book exhibited as a fine specimen of inlaying work. This book was hopelessly damaged by larvae and had almost become a solid mass of paper.

From the Government of Bengal.

63. *Proceedings of the Select Committee, 9 January to 31 December 1766.*

    At page 27 of this volume will be found the autographs of Lord Clive, Brig. General John Carnac, Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes, Members of the Select Committee, which dealt with all political and Military matters as well as the collection of revenues arising in consequence of the grant of the *Diwani*.

64. *Committee of Circuit at Rajmahal, Original Consultation, no 1 of 15 February 1773.*

    Letter dated 5 February 1773 from the Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council, approving of the settlement of Dinajpur and Salbaris (at present in Bogra District).

    The paper contains the autographs of Warren Hastings, General R. Barker and T. Lane.

From the Government of Bengal—*contd.*

65. *Calcutta Committee of Revenue, Original Consultation no 1 of 6 December 1773.*

Letter dated 23 November 1773 from the Board of Revenue consisting of the whole Council to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, stating that the Collectors appointed in districts for the collection of revenue have been recalled and formulating the constitution of the six Provincial Councils of Revenue for the same purpose, for the provinces of Bengal and Bihar.

The letter explains an important phase in the revenue administration of the country during the Government of Warren Hastings. Contains the autographs of Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Jas. Lawrell and others.

66. *Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council, Original Consultation no 17 of 11 June 1773.*

Petition of Lokenath Nandi, Gokul Chandra Ghosal, Darpa Narayan Thakur and Kashinath Babu, salt contractors of Hijili (now in the district of Midnapore), to W. Hastings, President and Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William, representing their grievances in not having the terms of their salt contract complied with.

The signatories to the petition were all well known people in their own day and their families constitution great houses in this generation as well.

67. *Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council, Original Consultation no 6 of 26 November 1773.*

Letter (in French) dated 1773 from the Chief and Council of the French Settlement at Chandernagore, complaining against the conduct of Mr Barwell whose sepoys apprehended a Jamadar attached to the French Factory.

The signatories to the letter constituted the Chief and Council of the French Factory at Chandernagore.

68. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 1 of 12 September 1775.*

Joint minute of Warren Hastings and Richard Barwell, a member of the Supreme Council, on the conduct of Mr W. M. Thackeray, Collector of Sylhet, in farming the district in his own account contrary to the standing orders of Government.

Mr Thackeray was the grand father of the great novelist.

From the Government of Bengal—*contd.*

69. *Calcutta Committee of Revenue, Original Consultation no 1 of 20 October 1775.*

Letter dated 16 October 1775 from the Revenue Department of the Governor General of Bengal to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, enquiring if the French have established within the jurisdiction of the Committee any factories or residencies except in their settlements at Chandernagore and Balasore.

This letter bears the autographs of the Governor General and his Council, *viz.*, Warren Hastings, Col George Monson, Philip Francis, Richard Barwell and Genl John Clavering.

70. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 12 of 21 May 1776.*

Draft of a *sanad* granting the *Zamindari* of Burdwan to Maharajadhiraj Tej Chand Bahadur.

71. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 30 of 4 April 1777.*

Autograph minute of Sir P. Francis on the institution of the office of the *Amini daftar.*

72. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 10 of 30 November 1779.*

Petition of Kissen Kanta Nandi (commonly known as Kanta Babu, the founder of the Kassimbazar Raj Family), complaining against Krishnananda Sarkar, a dismissed *Gumashta* (agent) of his, with regard to his mercantile affairs.

73. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 26 of 27 October 1780.*

Translation of a letter received on 7 October 1780 from Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daulah, Nawab Nazim of Bengal, conferring the title of Maharajadhiraj on Raja Shib Chandra of Nadia.

Raja Shib Chandra was the son of Maharajendra Krishna Chandra of the Nadia Raj Family. The letter gives an idea as to how *sanads* were granted in Hastings' time. A reference to the Indian title of the Governor General which runs as " Amaudul-Dowlah Governor General Mr Hastings Bahadur Jelladut Jung " will also be found.

74. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 28 of 27 October 1780.*

Draft of a letter dated 27 October 1780 from the Governor General in Council to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, sanctioning the conferment of the title of Maharajadhiraj on Raja Shib Chandra of Krishnagar.

From the Government of Bengal—*contd.*

75. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 2 of 20 February 1781.*

Draft of a letter to the Committee of Revenue appointing as *Diwan* to the Committee, Ganga Govinda Singh (the person who figures largely in Burke's Impeachment of Warren Hastings).

76. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 3 of 18 September 1789.*

Holograph minute of Lord Cornwallis reviewing the points raised by Sir John Shore with regard to making permanent the settlements in the province of Bengal and Bihar and expressing his opinion in favour of the same being made permanent.

77. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 4 of 18 September 1789.*

Minute of Sir John Shore in reply to the objections of the Governor General to his proposals on the Bihar Settlement.

78. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 1 of 21 December 1789.*

Minute dated the 8th December 1789 by Sir John Shore, advancing arguments against the revenue settlements of the province of Bengal and Bihar being made " final " and " unalterable ".

79. *Revenue Department. Original Consultation no 52 of 10 February 1790.*

Minute of Lord Cornwallis dated 3 February 1790 with appendices replying to the minute of Sir John Shore of 8 December and recording his views as to why the revenue settlement of the provinces should be made on a permanent basis. (The foregoing minutes are famous.)

80. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 11 of 24 July 1813.*

Minute of the Governor General (Lord Minto) suggesting alterations and revisions to be made in Regulation V of 1809 of the Bengal Code relating to the law of allegiance and desiring that the same changes be introduced in the Bombay Regulation as well (Bears the autograph of the Earl of Minto).

81. *Judicial Department, Civil Branch, Original Consultation no 16 of 12 August 1817.*

Autograph Minute of the Marquis of Hastings, dated——October 1815 on the judicial administration of the Presidency of Fort William.

From the Government of Bengal—*contd.*

82. *Territorial Department, Original Consultation no 62 of 19 January 1826.*

Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor General in the Political Department dated 13 January 1826 containing the proposals of Begam Samru of Sardhana relating to her *Jaidad* and *Jagirs,* in the territory possessed by her.

(Begam Samru is a well known figure in history.)

83-4. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation nos 18-19 of 29 December 1826.*

Holograph minutes dated 25 January and 3 May 1826 by Lord Amherst on Slavery in India.

85. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 14 of 6 March 1828.*

Minute dated 13 January 1827 by W. B. Bayley, Member of the Council of the Governor General on the Report relating to cases of *Sati* for the year 1825 and suggesting measures for the abolition of the practice.

86. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 16 of 6 March 1828.*

Draft of a Regulation by J. H. Harington, Member of the Council for declaring the inhuman practice of burning or burying alive of the widows of deceased Hindus to be illegal and punishable by the Criminal Courts. (Contains the autograph of Mr. Harington.)

87. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 17 of 6 March 1828.*

Holograph Minute of the Earl of Combermere, Commander in Chief, on the abolition of the practice of the *sati* rite.

88. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 19 of 6 March 1828.*

Holograph minute of Lord Amherst, Governor General dated 18 March 1827 recording his views against immediate steps being taken with regard to the abolition of the practice of *sati.*

89. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 22 of 6 March 1828.*

Statement showing the names and other particulars of the Hindu widows who burnt themselves or were buried alive as *satis* in the year 1826. (This is a formidable list.)

From the Government of Bengal—*contd.*

90. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 26 of 6 March 1828.*

    Autograph minute of Sir C. T. Metcalfe, dated 29 December 1827 on the practice of *sati.*

91. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 27 of 6 March 1828.*

    Holograph minute dated 4 January 1828 of Lord Amherst, Governor General declining finally to abolish the rite of *sati* at that period.

92. *Judicial Department, Criminal Branch, Original Consultation no 10 of 4 Dec. 1829.*

    Autograph minute of Lord William Bentinck, Governor General, dated 8 November 1829 recommending the abolition of the practice of *sati.* (This is a famous minute.)

93. *Territorial Department, Original Consultation no 1 of 5 January 1830.*

    Autograph Minute of the Governor General dated 8 December 1829 by Lord William Bentinck on the subject of allowing Europeans to hold lands on lease in India.

94. *Territorial Department, Original Consultation no 8 of 9 June 1830.*

    Statement of gross and net revenue of the Burmese Territory for the year 1828-1829 (This and the following paper may prove of interest to Burmese scholars. They were compiled just after the First Burmese War).

95. *Territorial Department, Original Consultation no 9 of 9 June 1830.*

    Particulars of receipts and charges of the Burmese Territory for the years 1827-1828 and 1828-29 with explanations of increase and decrease in each district.

96. *Territorial Department, Original Consultation no 18 of 14 October 1830.*

    Autograph minute dated 10 October 1829 of Lord William Bentinck on the formation of a Legislative Council for the presidency of Fort William.

97. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 11 of 29 August 1844.*

    Holograph letter of R. Macdonald Stephenson (one of the promulgators of the East Indian Railway Company) dated 5 Wellesley Place, Calcutta July 15, 1844 submitting to Government of Bengal certain proposals for opening a railway line in Bengal.

From the Government of Bengal—*concld.*

98. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 13 of 29 August 1844.*

Draft of a reply to R. M. Stephenson stating the objections to the scheme and suggesting how the difficulty could be got over.

99. *Revenue Department, Original Consultation no 2 of 13 August 1845.*

Correspondence relating to the opening up of Railways in India.

100. *Railway Department, Original Consultation no 2 of 3 September 1845.*

Copy of a letter dated 25 June 1845 from Lieut-Col Forbes (then Mint master at Calcutta) to the Military Board, submitting a report on the project of opening a line of canal or railway between some point on the Hooghly near Chinsura and Monghyr.

From the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

101. A letter congratulating the Governor General on the fall of Delhi and the complete suppression of the rebels (Indian Sepoy Mutiny).

102. From C. Bird, Collector of Dinajpur to Kharak Singh Babu, Zamindar of *pargana* Jhapartail. Notifies that the *punya* ceremony for the Bengali year 1206 (1799-1800) has been fixed for 26 *Baisakh* at the office of the Collector.

103. Letter dated 21st July 1863 from Bharpur Singh, Rajah of Nabha, to Lord Elgin, presenting a *dali* of fruits, etc.

104. Letter dated 24 Zil-hijjah 1259 (1844) from Muhammad Amjad Ali Shah, King of Oudh to Lord Ellenborough, intimating that the moneys pertaining to the estate of the Begum Khuld-Manzil should be repaid into the royal treasury.

105. Panorama of the City of Lahore (Painted water-colour 1840). Presented by Miss Perry of Barrackpore, 14 November 1904.

106. Lucknow on the River Goomty, by Wm. Daniel—March 1835.

107. 18 Pictures relating to the Old Army System in Company's days.

108. (J) Moore's Views at and near Rangoon, 18 plates. London, 1825-26. Obl. fol. 239 B. 32.

109. Symes (M): An account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava sent by the Governor General of India, in the year 1795. London, 1800. 164 B. 10.

110. Rough pencilling of a rough trip to Rangoon in 1846. Calcutta, 1853. 164 B. 22.

From the Moslem Institute, Calcutta.

111. Persian Translation of the Mahabharat by Abul Fazl.
112. Ramayan of Tulsi Das in Persian characters.

PAINTINGS.

113. Sulaiman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh.
114. Qutb-ul Mulk Nawab Saiyid Abdullah Khan, the "King Maker".

From the Hon'ble the Maharaja Bahadur of Nadia, Calcutta.

115. Sword used by Lord Clive and presented by him to Krishna Chandra with the title of "Maharajendra Bahadur".
116. Jewelled "Katar" (dagger) presented by the Emperor Jahangir to Maharaja Bhabanand Majumdar.

From Prince Ghulam Husain Shah (of the Mysore Family), Calcutta.

PAINTINGS.

117. Portrait of Tipu Sultan.
118. The Mughal Emperors.

From Prince Ahmad Halim-uz-Zaman (of the Mysore Family), Calcutta.

119. The portrait of Tipu Sultan. (A painting.)
120. Timur's Sword with the following epigram inscribed in Persian:—

"In the name of God the compassionate and merciful. The hand of God is above their hands. The irresistible sword, the enemy-killer, the victorious the sword of the King of Kings, the Monarch of Monarchs, the Sultan Sahib Qiran His Majesty Amir Timur, May God perpetuate his Kingdom and Empire".

From Mr Mesrovb J. Seth, Calcutta.

121. A manuscript "Life of Christ" in classical Armenian with coloured steel engravings, written at Julfe a suburb of Ispahan (Persia) in 1707 A.D. by Father Jacob Villotte, S. J., a French Jesuit and a renowned Armenian scholar, with a life of the author in English by Mesrovb J. Seth.
122. A Latin-Armenian Dictionary by Father Jacob Villottee, S. J., a French Jesuit missionary in Persia and Armenia for twenty-five years towards the end of the seventeenth century. Printed at Rome in 1714.
123. A Persian-Armenian Dictionary printed at Constantinople in 1826.
124. A Latin translation of the History of Armenia by Moses Chorenensis printed at London with the Armenian text in 1736. This is the *first* Armenian book printed in England.

From Mr Mesrovb J. Seth, Calcutta—*contd.*

125. A book of Exhortations and historical Miscellany printed at Madras in 1772. This is the *first* Armenian book printed in India.

126. The Life and Works of the Armenian Catholics (Pontiff) Abraham, a personal friend of Nadir Shah whose sword he blessed when that great warrior assumed the sovereignty of Persia. This is the first Armenian book that was printed in Calcutta in 1796, by the Rev. Joseph Stephen, Vicar of the Armenian Church of Nazareth at Calcutta.

127. The complete numbers of the first Armenian journal "Azdarar" printed and published at Madras from 1794-96. This is the first Armenian newspaper in the world. It was edited, printed and published by the Rev. Arrathoon Shumaron of Shiraz who was the priest of the Armenians at Madras from 1784-1824. There is a copy of the Farman of the Nawab of the Carnatic (Walajah) granting permission to the editor of the "Azdarar" to publish books in Arabic and Persian at his press. This is one of the three copies of the Journal extant.

128. Sacred Songs and Hymns of the Armenian Church printed at Amsterdam in 1685 with illustrations.

129. Sassanian Silver Coin (40 in number).

From Mr Bahadur Singh Singhi, Calcutta.

AUTOGRAPH LETTERS.

130. An autograph letter of Lord Clive to Mr William Innes of the East India Company, dated 31 May, 1764, expressing his friendship and wishing continuance of same.

131. An autograph letter of Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington) to Jos. Webbe, Esqr, condemning the establishment of martial law on a certain occasion. Dated Seringapatam, 1 July, 1801.

PORTRAIT ALBUMS.

132. Album containing portraits (rare) of the Ghori Kings, prepared under the orders of the Emperor Shah Jahan for his Imperial Library.

133. Album of the portraits of the Emperor and other scions of the House of Timur, beginning from Timur to Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi.

MISCELLANEOUS.

134. A perforated petition from Pir Khan to Asaf-ud-Daulah, Nawab of Oudh, praying for the restitution of his forfeited land.

From Mr B. Nahar, Calcutta.

PAINTINGS.

135. A garden scene (Indo-Persian).
136. Jahangir and a Maulvi.
137. Emperor Akbar (Lucknow School).

From Mr Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L., Calcutta.

138. The Burmese Golden Book. This was obtained direct from the Royal Family of Burma.

From Mr P. K. Das, M.A., B.L., Calcutta.

139-40. Two Palm leaf Manuscripts in gold letters of Bissuddhi Maggo, a book which can very well be termed the Encyclopaedia of Buddhist Ethical doctrines. They were received by the late Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, C.I.E., in 1886, from Buddhist Monastery in Siam.

141. A manuscript recovered from a remote Monastery in Tibet for a long time regarded as lost.

From Mr A. Ghosh, M.A., B.L., Calcutta.

FARMANS.

142. Aurangzeb's *Farman* to Mutaminud-Daulah.
143. *Farman* of Emperor Akbar appointing Qazi Nizam to the office of the *Qanungo* of Bijnor.
144. *Farman* of Shah Qaim Hasan making grants of land to some persons.
145. Mortgage deed (Lahore, 17 June 1823).
146. *Farman* of the Emperor Jahangir calling upon the *jagirdars* etc., not to make any changes in their jurisdiction. (1623).

PAINTINGS.

147. Amir Turgai, the father of Timur, with the seals of the Emperors Alamgir and Farrukhsiyar.
148. Guru Nanak.
149. Emperor Jahangir.
150. Emperor Bahadur Shah I.
151. Bahadur Shah in exile.

From Mr A. Ghosh, M.A., B.L., Calcutta—*contd.*

152. Shah Jahan.

153. Habsh Khan, an Abyssinian officer of Shah Jahan. Bears the seal of the Emperor Shah Alam.

154. Sultan Muhammad Mirza.

From Dr H. W. B. Moreno, Calcutta.

155. The original portrait of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, Anglo-Indian Poet and Reformer. (From the Oriental Herald, 1830.)

From Calcutta Madrassa.

156. An illuminated manuscript of 'Khamsah-i-Nizami' (five romantic Persian poems of Nizami). A fine specimen of calligraphy.

157. The Turkish History [From the reign of Mahomet III to the year 1700] in three volumes.

From Mr E. C. Benthall, Calcutta.

158. A condolence letter, dated 21st May 1810, from Lord Minto to Nawab Syed Zainuddin Ali Khan Bahadur on the sad demise of his father Nawab Syed Badr Ali Khan Bahadur on the 28th April 1810.

159. A letter, dated the 23rd July 1816, to Nawab Syed Mubarak Ali Khan by Lord Minto referring to his letter in which he mentioned about a few cases of the *Nizamat* and requested the Nawab to get them solved with the help and mature advice of John Mington, specially appointed for that purpose, as his representative in the town of Murshidabad.

160. A letter of no date from Lord Cornwallis to Nawab Hidar Beg Khan Bahadur expressing his joy on his arrival at Santi and thanking the Nawab for sending Mirza Khalilullah Khan Bahadur Afsar Jang to the aforesaid place and for sending Nawab Babar Jang Bahadur for reception.

161. A condolence letter from Sir John Shore to Nawab Babbu Begam Saheba on the death of her father Nawab Syed Mubarak Ali Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang.

162. A letter from the Governor General to Nawab Syed Mubarak Ali Khan Bahadur about his intention of going a hunting and hence asking for a few English hunting dogs.

From Mr E. C. Benthall, Calcutta—*contd.*

163. A letter, dated the 26th March 1806, from Sir G. H. Barlow to Nawab Syed Babar Ali Khan Bahadur Diler Jang acknowledging the receipt of his letter through Mir Kamaluddin.

164. A letter, dated the 4th September 1791, from Mr M. Atkinson to Nawab Munshi Begam Saheba intimating her of his departure for Calcutta on the 4th September 1791 and asking for a *Parwana* with her seal to the *zemindars* and tenants of Basaipur etc., just to curb them.

165. A letter, dated the 9th April 1817, from M. Atkinson to Nawab Syed Zainuddin Ali Khan Bahadur intimating the Nawab about the difficulty of collecting silk yarns from Sabaspur Factory and suggesting that Nawab Saheb might be pleased to request Nawab Begam Saheba to help him in the task.

166. A condolence letter, dated 1178 A. H. (from the seal), from J. Spencer to Nawab Mir Najmud-Daulah Bahadur on the sad demise of his father.

From Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., Calcutta.

ENGRAVING.

167. The Delhi Darbar, 1822.

From the Hyderabad Darbar.

168. One thousand rupee note no AA04002.
169. One hundred rupee current note no PS05347.
170. One ten rupee current note no AO59490.
171. One Five rupee current note no LQ093418.
172. One one rupee current note.
173. One set of old silver coins (four in all).
174. One set of old gold coins (five in all).
175. One set of charminar gold coins (4 in all).
176. One set of old silver coins (four).
177. One set of current silver coins (four).
178. Nickel one anna.
179. One set of copper coins (three).
180. Nineteen stamps.
181. Fourteen copies of old Historical papers.
182. Four photographs of maps, etc.

From the Government of Burma.

I.—Records in the Secretariat Record Room.

183. File no 1 of 1828. Two letters from A. D. Maingy, Civil Commissioner, Amhorst (the first dated 22nd April 1828, the second undated and incomplete), to George Swinton, Esq, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William.

Reports of trials for crime. Report of his visit with divers to the Pearl Banks; near St. Susannah's Island. Chinese farmers of excise at Tavoy and Mergui granted remissions of payments in consequence of losses of junks off the coast of Chittagong and of the reduction of garrisons and the removal of a regiment to Madras. Chinese granted facilities for cultivating sugar at Tavoy and Mergui. Revenue difficulties. Conditions under which license to cut teak wood has been granted.

184. File no 6 of 1828. Proposed Rules for the administration of Civil Justice in the Province of Arrakan (Arakan) submitted to the Government of India with covering letter from W. Blunt, Special Commissioner to H. Shakespear, Esq, Acting Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William.

Of interest in defining the duties of the 'Mroosoogroo' (Myothugyi) who is termed 'head native officer of the Courts, Civil and Criminal', and in showing methods for introducing the elements of the British system of justice into the newly-acquired province.

185 File no 1 of 1829. Letter from the Commissioner of Tenasserim to the Officer in Civil Charge of Mergui concerning the assumption of jurisdiction by the British over the islands of the Mergui Archipelago.

186. File no 2 of 1830. Letter from A. De Maingy, Commissioner of Tenasserim, to the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William.

Dr Richardson's efforts to open a trade route between Moulmein and the Lao Country. Friendly relations with the Siamese government; English traders invited to visit Siamese territory. The British occupation of Tenasserim has effectually checked the system of man-catching which formerly prevailed between the Burmese and Siamese, but nothing can yet be done to put down the horrible system of border warfare between the Burmese and inhabitants of Laos.

187. File no 4 of 1834. Letter from E. A. Blundell, Offg. Commissioner of Tenasserim, to the Deputy Secretary to Government in the Political Department, Fort William, concerning Dr Richardson's visit to open out a trade route with the Lao country.

From the Government of Burma—*contd.*

188. File no 1 of 1835. (*a*) Letter from E. A. Blundell, Commissioner of Tenasserim, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Secret and Political Department, concerning Dr Richardson's visit to the Shan Chiefs of Chiengmai and Laboung and to the Red Karens for the purpose of opening a trade route beween their districts and Moulmein, and of inducing the caravans of Chinese traders to extend their annual visits to Moulmein.

(*b*) Letter from J. P. Priggs, Deputy Commissioner, P.A., In Charge of Com[nd] Office, H. M. P., at Moulmein to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue and Judicial Department, on the same subject.

189. File no 1 of 1836. Letter from E. A. Blundell, Commissioner of Tenasserim, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Political Department, concerning the return from Siam of Talaings previously driven out of Lower Burma by Burmese oppression.

190. File no 2 of 1837. Fragment of letter from the Commissioner of Tenasserim Provinces(?), to C. E. Trevelyn, Esq, Additional Secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue, dated 27th November 1837, reporting the method of assessment and collection of Land Revenue in the province and referring to a report made by his predecessor Mr. Maingy, in July 1833.

191. File no 2 of 1839. Fragment of letter from the Commissioner, Tenasserim Provinces(?), to F. I. Halliday, Esq, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue and Judicial Department, Fort William, undated, referring to a proposal of the Governor General to introduce American workmen into Burma to 'afford instruction in the cultivation and proper cleaning of Cotton'. The writer gives details of an unsuccessful experiment on his part to improve the production of cotton in his provinces. The instruction proposed, he says, would be entirely thrown away because 'the people chiefly if not solely engaged in this cultivation, are the Karens, men of wild, unsettled habits who avoid intercourse with Towns and villages.'

192. File no 3 of 1844. Letter from Captain H. M. Durand, Commissioner, Tenasserim Provinces, to F. Currie, Esq, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William, dated Moulmein, the 14th November 1844 and enclosing a translation of a letter from the Myowoon of Rangoon to the Woon of Moulmein and Captain McLeod.

Durand explains that the Burmese letter reveals 'the ulterior views of the Court (of Ava) upon the Siamese Shan States' and is written to sound 'the feelings of the British Government with respect to the ex-

tension of the Burmese Empire over those states which envelope over N. E. Frontier.' He mentions news of great preparations for war in Burmese territory. He has reported the matter to the Court of Siam and has directed a reply to be made to the Burmese authorities worded so as "not to encourage the belligerent inclination of the Court of Ava."

193. File no 3 of 1845. Letter from Captain Durand, Commissioner of Tenasserim, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, containing intelligence reports of Burmese relations with the Karenni Chiefs and the Shans of Northern Siam.

194. File no 12 of 1847. Letter from J. R. Colvin, Esq, Commissioner, Tenasserim Provinces, to F. I. Halliday, Esq, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William, dated Moulmein, 22nd February 1847 and forwarding two letters from 'my Principal Assistant Captain Phayre' reporting the arrival by way of Zimme of a small caravan from 'the Chinese Province of Yanam'. The Commissioner reports that this is the first occasion of the arrival of traders direct from China in these provinces. Previously the Shan Chief of Zimme have prevented them from coming, but now the Government of Bangkok for political reasons has forced the Shans to allow passage to these traders.

195. File no 9 of 1854. Letters from Thomas Spears at Amarapoora to Captain Arthur Phayre, Commissioner of Pegu. Spears supplied the British authorities with 'intelligence' of the Burmese Court at the close of the Second Burmese War when Lord Dalhousie was unsuccessfully attempting to negotiate a treaty with Mindon Min. His work was very highly praised by Dalhousie in his demi-official letters to Phayre, which are now in the possession of the University of Rangoon.

196. File no 8 of 1854. Statistical Returns of Population and Stock in Martaban, Tavoy, Moulmein and Mergui for the year 1853-54.

197. File no 6 of 1855. (*i*) Letter from Major A. P. Phayre, Commissioner of Pegu, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William, dated Rangoon, 1st June 1855, requesting that orders be passed making the Salary of Mr. Spears, Government Correspondent at the Court of Ava, up to Rs. 400 a month for the year 1854.

(*ii*) Reply to the above from I. W. Dalrymple, Esq, Offg. Under-Secretary to the Government of India, dated the 29th June 1855, authorising payment to Mr. Spears of the amount specified.

(*iii*) Letter from Cecil Beadon, Esq, Secretary to the Government of India, to Major A. P. Phayre, Commissioner of Pegu, dated Fort William, 8th August 1855, defining Spear's position and explaining

that he must not be employed in any official matter to make representations to the Government of Ava or to act in any way apparently as an Agent for the British Government.

198. File no 18 of 1856. Correspondence between the Government of India and the Commissioner of Pegu authorising the payment of a salary of Rs. 400 a month for the year 1855 to Mr. Thomas Spears (see also on the same subject files 43 of 1858, 11 of 1859, and 40 of 1860). Draft of letter in Phayre's handwriting to the Government of India dated 2nd October 1856, introducing Spears and a Mr Camaratta "a Goa Portuguese who is much in the confidence of the King" to the Government of India and intimating that they are proceeding to Calcutta to make purchases for the King of Ava.

199. File no 2 of 1856. A number of letters from Colonel A. Bogle, Commissioner of Tenasserim, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, concerning military operations against a Karen Minlaung (Royal Pretender) in Yunzalin. They illustrate a chronic frontier problem of British Burmese administration.

200. File no 18 of 1861. Original letters from the Court of Burma to Sir Arthur Phayre, Chief Commissioner of British Burma. Most of them are endorsed in Phayre's handwriting. Among the subjects dealt with was desire of Mindon Min to introduce a proper coinage system into his kingdom for the first time in her history. Phayre gave permission to the Court to send two envoys to Calcutta to study the minting process. The dates of the letters range from 1861 to 1866.

201. File no 12 of 1861. Letters from Lieut-Col A. Fytche, Commissioner, Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces, to Lieut-Col H. M. Durand, C.B., Offg. Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated Moulmein, 1st October 1861, reporting that no treaties have ever been made with any Native States on the frontiers of these Provinces since they became British territory.

202. File no 98 of 1862. Copy of letter from Lieut-Col A. Fytche, Commissioner of Tenasserim Division of British Burma, to E. C. Bailey, Esq, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Moulmein, 27th September 1862, enclosing a memorial signed by 250 leading members of the Mercantile Community of Moulmein, protesting against the contract recently entered into by the Government with the Calcutta and Burmah Steam Navigation Company for 'running lines of Steam Communication between Calcutta and Ports on the Eastern Coast of the Bay of Bengal.'

203-6. Files nos 145 of 1862, 5 of 1863, 95 of 1864 and 273 of 1865. Files containing interesting collections of correspondence regarding the production of Cotton in Burma in File no 276/1865 contains several autograph letters of Phayre on the subject.

207. File no 68 of 1862. (*a*) Remarks on the subject of Immigration into the Provinces of British Burmah by Edward O'Riley, Esq, Deputy Commissioner, Bassein.

(*b*) Letter from Captain H. Nelson Davies, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah and Agent to the Governor General, to John Connell, Esq, Acting Honorary Secretary to the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce, dated 22nd February 1862, regarding measures to be adopted towards attracting Chinese and Indian immigrants to Burma.

(*c*) Copy of the Rangoon Times, dated 26th April 1862, containing John Connell's reply to the above.

(*d*) Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, dated Fort William, 26th June 1862, conveying the Governor General in Council's views on the subject.

208. File no 101 of 1862. Letter from Major S. R. Tickell, Offg. Commissioner of Arakan, to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, dated Akyab, the 18th September 1862, enclosing the report of Mr Extra Assistant Commissioner Hind on the subject of his expedition into the Meekhyoung (Migyaung) Hills to put down dacoity.

209. File no 128 of 1862. Correspondence relative to the proposed establishment of a British Consulate at Chiengmai.

210. File no 21 of 1863. A number of autograph letters from Lieut-Col A. P. Phayre to various people concerning the treaty of Commerce lately made by him on behalf of the Government of India with the Court of Mandalay.

(*a*) Dated Thayetmyo, February 10th, 1863, to the Secretary, Rangoon Chamber of Commerce, enclosing a draft of proposed rules under the treaty.

(*b*) Dated Rangoon, 14th February 1863, to the Very Reverend Father Abbona at Mandalay, thanking him for his cordial assistance during the negotiations, and intimating that reports of it will be sent to the Governor General of India and the King of Italy.

(*c*) Dated Rangoon, 16th February 1863, to R. S. Edwards, Esq, thanking him for his 'valuable and zealous' assistance.

From the Government of Burma—*contd.*

(*d*) Dated Rangoon, 12th May 1863, to Major Ardlagh regarding the customs regulations to be enforced under the treaty.

(*e*) Dated Rangoon, 12th May 1863, to the Secretary to the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce explaining that as he has not yet received authority from Government to publish the treaty it must not be taken as having already come into force.

(*f*) Dated Rangoon, 13th May 1863, to Captain Gladstone, Wyllie and Co, Rangoon, explaining that in consequence of the Burmese Government not having yet heard the British Government has published the treaty the Company's steamer about to leave for Mandalay had better take on board with her Mr. D. F. Lonsdale, Collector of Customs at Thayetmyo, as far as the Burmese frontier custom-house at Menhla, in order to prevent misunderstanding with the Burmese authorities.

(*g*) Dated Rangoon, 13th May 1863, to D. F. Lonsdale, Esq, Collector of Customs, Thayetmyo, containing instructions for the journey mentioned in the above letter.

211. File no 249 of 1863. (*a*) Letter from James C. Todd, Esq, Chairman of a Meeting of the trading community of Rangoon, to Colonel A. P. Phayre, Chief Commissioner of British Burma, forwarding a Memorial for the consideration of H. M. Secretary of State praying for the establishment of a High Court for the province of British Burma.

(*b*) Autograph draft of Phayre's reply to the above.

212. File no 26 of 1864. The Arakan Hill Tracts.

213. File no 29 of 1864. Papers relating to Mr E. O'Riley's expedition to Karenni to recover children captured by Hpo Kai from a Karen village.

214. File no 84 of 1864. Autograph draft of letter from Colonel A. P. Phayre to W. H. Clarke, Esq, LL.D., dated Rangoon, 14th May 1864, reminding him of a previous letter soliciting early orders for the establishment of Courts of Small Causes at Rangoon, Moulmein and Akyab,

215. File no 119 of 1865. The Chief Commissioner of British Burma's reply to a petition of the Paku Karens for assistance against the depredations of Hpo Kai.

216. File no 24 of 1865. Letter from John Connell, Honorary Secretary, the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce, to Major H. N. Davies, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, dated 13th January 1865, acknowledging his letter of the 3rd instant and expressing his committee's regret "that they see nothing in the arguments advanced by the Chief Commissioner to induce them to alter their opinion as to the great

desirability of reserving the piece of land known as Tank Square, as a pleasure ground for the inhabitants of Rangoon ".

(*N.B.*—This later became the present Fytch Square).

A number of autograph drafts of letters from Phayre to John Connell on the above subject.

217. File no 14 of 1866. Fragment of Captain Street's diary of journey to Siam to treat with the Siamese Commissioners concerning boundary matters.

218. File no 73 of 1866. Draft of letter from Sir Arthur Phayre, Chief Commissioner of British Burma, to the Mint Master, Calcutta, announcing that he has given permission for two men from the Burmese Court to proceed to Calcutta for the purpose of seeing the mint, with further correspondence on the same subject.

219. File no 84 of 1866. Correspondence, etc., relative to the appointment of a Superintendent of Hill Tribes in Northern Arakan.

220. File no 167 of 1866. Correspondence relating to the conduct of Dr Clement Williams, Agent of the Chief Commissioner for British Burma at Mandalay.

221. File no 5 of 1867. Further correspondence on the same subject.

222. File no 74 of 1867. Replies from local officers to a letter from the Chief Commissioner asking if in their districts there are any ancient ordinance, weapons, native armour, etc., suitable for presentation to the Woolwich Museum.

223. File no 380 of 1867. Documents relating to the projected Burmese Embassy to Paris and its recall to Mandalay.

224. File no 463 of 1867. Orthography of every place of any importance and of Division, Districts, Sub-divisions, Townships and Circles of Tenasserim in English and Burmese. Orthography of the names of places in the Arakan Division in English and Burmese.

225. File no 429 of 1867. Miscellaneous documents relating to the settlement of the Boundary between Siam and British Burma.

226. File no 302 of 1867. Captain C. P. Hildebrand's Report concerning the Delhi State Prisoners under his charge, and other miscellaneous documents relating to these prisoners.

227-8. Files nos 16 B. P. of 1870 and 19-P. of 1870. Copies of the Anglo-Burmese Treaty of Yunnan Chinese and Shan for use of the Offg. British Political Agent at Bhamo.

229. File no 61 B. P. of 1870. Documents relating to the King of Burma's offer, through Major McMahon, Offg. Political Agent, Mandalay, of

decorations to the Prime Ministers of England and France. Interesting as illustrating the relations of the Government of India with the Court of Mandalay in matters arising out of Burmese foreign policy.

230. File no 78-A. P. of 1870. Documents relating to King Mindon Min's gift of a new Hti to the Shwe Dagon Pagoda.

231. File no 28-P. of 1872. Official correspondence relating to the Kinwun Mingyi's mission to Europe in 1872.

232. File no 50-P. of 1872. Correspondence between H. M. Queen Victoria and Mr Gladstone, Prime Minister of England, on the one hand, and King Mindon Min on the other, with many other collateral documents.

233-4. Files nos 20-P. of 1872 and 1-P. of 1874. Diaries of the British Political Agent at Mandalay.

235. File no 71-P. of 1873. Printed copies in Burmese and English of a treaty between the Italian and Burmese Governments, with correspondence between the various British authorities in Mandalay, Rangoon and Calcutta on the subject of this phase of Burmese foreign policy. Interesting references to the Kinwun Mingyi's visit to Europe.

236. File no 94-P. of 1874. Printed copies of documents relating to a Chinese Embassy to Mandalay.

237. File no 1-P. of 1875. Confidential diary of Colonel Browne, Offg. Political Agent at Bhamo, dealing with his expedition into Western China.

238. File no 36-P. of 1878. Printed copies of English translations of Treaties made between Burma and Persia.

239-41. Files nos 116-P. of 1878, 21-P. of 1879 and 61-P. of 1880. Collections of documents relating to Major Street's mission to Bangkok and containing interesting information concerning the relations of the Government of India with Siam.

242. File no Chief Secy.'s Office, 1892, Pol. Dept. No. 4-S—22. Sketch History of the old Shan Empire by E. H. Parker, Offg. Adviser on Chinese affairs.

243. File no Chief Secy.'s Office, 1892, Pol. Dept., No. 1-C—3. History of Burma extending over 1,800 years, translated from the Momlin annals, and of the four Burmese (once Chinese) Sawbwaships of Meng-yang, Man-moh (old Bhamo), Meng-mih and Mahpang (Theinni) by E. H. Parker, Adviser on Chinese affairs.

244. File no Chief Secy.'s Office, 1892, Pol. Dept., No. 1-C—24. Sheng-wu-chi's account of Burma. Notes by Mr. Parker on Mr Warry's Translation of.

245. File no Chief Secy.'s Office, 1892, Pol. Dept., No. 2-M—5. Documents relating to the Seal of the Ancient Sawbwas of Mogaung.

II.—POLITICAL DOCUMENTS IN THE CARE OF THE GOVERNMENT TRANSLATOR.

(The documents have been sorted and placed in numbered envelopes to facilitate handling. Each envelope, besides its number, bears a brief description of its contents.)

246. Envelope no 1. An envelope addressed to the King of Burma.

A letter in English from Baron Lytton, Viceroy and Governor General of India, to the King of Burma thanking the latter for his assistance to English Officers from Pekin and for escorting them during their passage through the King's dominions to British territory. Dated Simla, the 1st July 1876.

247. Envelope no 2. An envelope addressed to the King of Burma.

A letter in English from Baron Lytton, Viceroy and Governor General of India, to the King of Burma. He informs the latter that Mr R. B. Shaw, C.I.E., has been appointed successor to Lt-Col Duncan, British Agent at the King's Court. Dated Fort William, the 16th March 1878.

A Burmese version of the same in gold.

248. Envelope no 3. An envelope addressed to the King of Burma.

A letter in English from Baron Northbrook, Viceroy, and Governor General of India, to the King of Burma. It acknowledges receipt of a letter and presents received from the hands of a Burmese Envoy received by the Viceroy. Dated Fort William, the 13th March 1875.

A rough note in Burmese recording the reading of the above letter to the King of Burma.

249. Envelope no 4. An envelope addressed to the King of Burma.

A letter in English from Baron Northbrook, Viceroy and Governor General of India, to the King of Burma. Accrediting Sir Thomas Douglas Forsyth as Envoy to the Burmese Court. Dated Simla, the 7th May 1875.

An office translation of the above into Burmese.

250. Envelope no 5. An envelope addressed to the King of Burma.

A letter in English from Baron Northbrook, Viceroy and Governor General of India, to the King of Burma. He announces his impending retirement from India and bids the King farewell. Dated Fort William, the 12th April 1876.

From the Government of Burma—*contd.*

251. Envelope no 6. Letter in Burmese from Lord Mayo to the King of Burma. He requests permission to post a British Agent at Bhamo. Date (in Burmese) about 1867.

252. Envelope no 7. Draft of letter in Burmese from Lord Dalhousie to the King of Burma. He has received a Mission from the latter and requests permission to despatch a Mission in return. No date.

253. Envelope no 8. A letter in English addressed to Capt. Phayre.

It states that an extract from a letter from Calcutta has been translated and laid before the King of Burma and the Woongyis. They are pleased that their friendly intentions have at length been recognized. They desire to send a Mission to Bengal to treat with the Governor General. Signature illegible. Probably written and signed by the British Agent. Dated Amarapoora, the 9th May 1854.

254. Envelope no 9. Draft (?) of letter in English and Burmese from Phayre to a Burmese Minister thanking him for a letter giving the names of the persons composing the Burmese Mission to Bengal. Arrangements have been made to receive the members who will be conveyed to Bengal in a Steam Frigate. Dated Rangoon, the 16th November 1854.

255. Envelope no 10. Document in English and Burmese drafted by Sir Arthur Phayre to the Magwe Woongyi protesting against the course adopted by the Court of Burma in sending a letter addressed to H. M. the Queen of England by the hand of Mr. Thomas Spears instead of through the recognized channels. England will not give up Pegu and revert to the Treaty of Yandaboo which is now inoperative. Dated Rangoon, the 20th December 1860.

256. Envelope no 11. Copy of a letter in Burmese from a Minister to the Chief Secretary, Burma. It states that our Agent has suddenly withdrawn himself from the Capital and that there is much anxiety felt in consequence. With the letter come three Envoys sent to see the Viceroy. Date (in Burmese) 1879.

257. Envelope no 12. (*a*) The Myaung Hla Woondauk's statement of accounts on his return from a Mission to Italy. Shows house rent, fares etc., in Burmese. 1875.

(*b*) The Myaung Hla Woondauk's third statement of accounts on his return from Italy and Portugal. In Burmese. 1877.

258. Envelope no 13. (*a*) An address in Italian from Victor Emanuel II, King of Italy, to the King of Burma. Diploma in Italian appointing the Kin Woon Mingyi, a "Grand Officer of the Order of the Crown of Italy".

(*b*) A certificate in Burmese to the effect that certain documents in Italian and Burmese are identical in meaning. Signed by Fathers N. Abbona and R. F. Andreiro. 1870.

259. Envelope no 14. (*a*) Envelope containing an address in Persian.

(*b*) Envelope containing an illuminated address in Persian.

(*c*) Envelope containing a large illuminated address in Persian, also a document in some Indian writing.

(*d*) Envelope containing a letter in Persian.

(*e*) A document in Burmese from the King of Iran to the King of Burma. It conveys greetings and asks for the friendly reception of an Envoy. Possibly translation of one of the above.

(*f*) A document in Burmese from the King of Iran to the King of Burma. Possibly translation of one of the above.

260. Envelope no 15. A schedule in Burmese of various presents.

261. Envelope no 16. A rough note in Burmese that presents had been brought by Col Browne of Moulmein, D. C. Thayetmyo, Major McMahon, D. C. Prome, also Major King and Lieut " Bawlin ".

262. Envelope no 17. (*a*) Envelope containing a large address in French from Napoleon III of France to the King of Burma conveying expressions of friendship and good-will. Dated the Tuileries, 1857.

(*b*) A Burmese translation on the reverse.

263. Envelope no 18. (*a*) Envelope containing an address in French from Le Marechal de Mac-Mahon, Duc de Magenta, President of the French Republic, to the King of Burma. It refers to the ratification of a Treaty of Commerce and the sending of the Count of Rochechuart as an Envoy. Dated Versailles, the 1st September 1873.

(*b*) Burmese translation of the above.

(*c*) Envelope containing another address from the Duc de Magenta to the King of Burma expressing feelings of friendship. Dated Versailles, the 24th June 1874.

(*d*) A copy in French of the above.

(*e*) A Burmese translation of the above.

(*f*) An address in French from the King of Burma to the King of the Pays Bas. Expressions of good will, etc.

264. Envelope no 19. Envelope containing a letter in French from the French Minister of Foreign affairs to the Burmese Ambassador, the Kin Woon Mingyi. He states that he encloses a letter (probably 18 (*c*) above) from the President of the French Republic to the King

From the Government of Burma—*concld.*

of Burma and refers to a Treaty contracted between the two countries of which the ratification had been conveyed by the Ambassador. Dated the 23 June 1874.

A Burmese translation of the above.

265. Envelope no 20. (*a*) A signed contract in French and Burmese between a Burmese Mission on the one hand and a French Officer of the War Department on the other. It arranges for the setting up and equipment of an arsenal at Mandalay. Dated Hotel Continental, the 26th June 1884.

266. Envelope no 21. (*b*) An additional article to the above contract. Several empty used envelopes addressed to the King of Burma.

From the Corporation of Rangoon.

MAPS.

267. 1—Map of Rangoon dated 1824 (one copy) (large size).
268. 2—Map of Rangoon, dated 1853 (one copy) (large size).
269. 3—Map of Rangoon showing lots, dated 1853 (one copy, large).
270. 4—Map of Rangoon, dated 1867 (one copy) (large size).
271. 5—Map of Rangoon, dated 1871 (one copy) (large size).
272. 6—Map of Rangoon, dated 1895 (one copy) (large size).
273. 7—Map of Rangoon, dated 1908 (one copy) (large size).
274. 8—Detailed plan of Cantonment as existed in 1909 and 1910 (two copies) (large size).

From the University College, Rangoon.

PARABAIKS.

275. Annual grants of money made to the officers of tde Burmese Army. (1879.)
276. Anglo-Chinese Treaty (translation). (1858.)
277. Frontier settlement between the Kingdom of Burma and British Burma. (About 1880.)
278. Law applied to drunkards. (1876.)
279. Trade Treaty between Burma and the British. (1878.)
280. Burmese State scholars sent to England and France. (1876-80.)

From the University College, Rangoon—*contd.*

281. Census of European countries and their fighting men. (1871.)
282. Letters from the Burmese embassy in India. (1874.)
283. Royal orders issued to Maha Bandula to march India. (1824.)
284. Code words used by a member of the Burmese secret service in Rangoon. (1870?.)
285. Treaty between Burma and the British. (21st June 1875.)
286. The ten Districts of Burma. (1883.)
287. Appointment of the Sawbwa of Kyaingyon by the Burmese king. (1878.)
288. Copy of letters from Kinwun Mingyi (Europe) to the Burmese ministers in Mandalay on European affairs. (1872.)
289. Copy of letter written by Captain Steore, Political Agent, Mandalay, with a facsimile of his signature. (1873.)
290. List of presents sent by Queen Victoria to King Mindon through 'Tenasserim Brown'. (1873.)
291. Letter from the King of Burma to the Governor-General of India. (1879.)
292. Summary of the correspondence passed between the Burmese court and the Chief Commissioner at Rangoon. (1869.)
293. List of Sawbwas and Myosas in the service of the Burmese king. (1883.)
294. Thathanabaing's power to appoint a thugyi. (1884.)
295. Order prescribing liveries for the clerks of the Court. (1884.)
296. Copy of a judgment passed by ministers and endorsed by the King. (1882.)
297. King Bodawpaya's order—ministers to prevent crime on pain of death. (1812.)
298. King Bodawpaya's order—men to wear long hair. (1810.)
299. King Bodawpaya's order—Officers to replace property lost by a citizen. (1811.)
300. King Thibaw's order—Shwehlan Myowun (Mandalay) imprisoned for a theft in the city. (1885.)
301. Appointment of a 'Salt Officer' (Excise). (1871.)
302. King Mindon grants an officer to wear a diamond. (1867.)
303. Copies of letters sent by the King of Burma to the Governor General of India and through him to the Queen of England, to the Italian Consul and through him to the King of Italy. (1878.)

From the University College, Rangoon—*concld.*

304. Treaty between Siam and the British. (Copy). (1864.)
305. Extracts from the Yadanabom newspaper, Rangoon. (6th December, 1879.)
306. Translated extracts from the London Times. (1879.)

From the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon.

MON-TALAING MANUSCRIPTS.

(a) *Histories—Social, Political, and Religious.*

307. *Concise Chronicle.*—Author—Shin Uttama. Date—1128 B. E. = 1766 A. D. A short history of the Mon-Talaings.
308. *Dynastic Chronicle.*—Author—Shin Uttama. Date—1114 B. E. = 1752 A. D. A list of Mon Dynasties.
309. *Dhammaceti Chronicle.*—Author—Shin Uttama. Date—1128 B. E. = 1766 A. D. An account of Dhammaceti, (1472-1492 A. D.) King of Pegu.
310. *Chronicle of Kings and Ambassadors.*—Author—Shin Sobhita. Date—1129 B. E. = 1767 A. D. A Mon history with an account of the embassies from Siam, Ceylon, etc., to the Kingdom of Pegu.
311. *Gavampati.*—Author and Date—Unknown. An account of the meeting between Gavampati, the saint, and some Mon kings.
312. *Prophecies concerning Muttama, Haṁsawati and Rammapura.*—Author —Shin Uttama. Date—1119 B. E. = 1757 A. D. An account of the Buddha's prediction about 8 rulers of the Martaban Dynasty, and 37th of the Hanthawaddy Family, with also an account of a king of Rammapura (Moulmein).
313. *Chronicle of the town of Ye.*—Author and Date—Unknown. A history of Ye, a town in Tenasserim Division.
314. *Buddhavamsa.*—Author and Date—Unknown. A concise life of the Buddhas.
315. *Dhatuvamsa.*—Author—King Dhammaceti. Date—Unknown. An account of the relics of the Buddha.
316. *Dhatuvamsa.*—Author—Shin Myana. Date—Unknown. Another account of the Buddha's predictions and His relics.
317. *Account of Ordination-halls.*—Author—Dhammaceti. Date—Unknown. Deals with the Ordination-halls at the time of King Dhammaceti.

From the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon—*contd.*

318. *A Short account of the Shwedagon Pagoda.*—Author and Date—Unknown.

319. *A short account of the Shwedagon Pagoda.*—Author and Date—Unknown. A history of the Shwedagon Pagoda.

320. *Catalogue of Pitakas.*—Author and Date—Unknown. A bibliography of Buddhist Canonical Literature.

(b) *Poetical Works.*

321. *Buddhavamsa in verse.*—Author—Bhikkhu U Nyana. Date—1202 B. E. = 1840 A. D. The life of the Buddhas in verse.

322. *Yasodhara's Lament.*—Author—Bhikkhu U Uttama. Date—1118 B. E. = 1756 A. D. The lament of Yasodhara on her separation from Prince Siddhattha.

323. *Yasodhara's Homage.*—Author and Date—Unknown. Princess Yasodhara's homage to the Buddha.

324. *The story of U Yin Gyi.*—Author and Date—Unknown. The life of the Nat U Shin Gyi.

(c) *Law Books.*

325. *Law books.*—Author—Dhammalasa Thera. Date—Unknown. The law of inheritance, etc., in Four volumes.

Historical Manuscripts in Burmese and Pali.

A.—*Palm-leaf Mss.*

(*a*) Chronicles—Legendary, Political, Social, etc.

326. *Hmannan Yazawindaw Gyi.*—" The Glass Palace Chronicle ", 3 vols. Author—Committee of scholars appointed by King Bagyidaw. Date—1829. Material drawn from earlier chronicles. Name taken from the Hmannan or the Palace of Glass, Mandalay, in which the work was compiled.

327. *Mahayazawindawgyi.*—" The Great Chronicle ", 3 vols. Author—Maung Kala. Date—1724 A. D. One of the earliest native histories of Burma. Written at the time of King Taninganwe Min. (1714-1733.)

328. *Yazawin Lat.*—" The Middle Chronicle ". Author—Same as No. (327) above. Date—Later than the Mahayazawindawgyi. A condensation of " The Great Chronicle ".

From the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon—*contd.*

329. *Yazawinchok.*—"The Condensed Chronicle". Author—Same as Nos. 327-28 above. Date—Subsequent to the Mahayazawindawgyi. A further condensation of "The Great Chronicle".

330. *Pagan Yazawin Thit.*—"The New Pagan Chronicle". Author—Unknown. Date—About 1785 A. D. Based on the Old and the Great Chronicles as well as on other sources.

331. *Mahayazawin Thit.*—"The New Chronicle", 2 vols. Author—Twinthin Taikwun Mahasithu (1726-1792). Date—About the end of the 18th century. The work of a scholar and minister entrusted by King Bodawpaya (1782-1819) with the work of compiling a history from archaeological records.

332. *Konbaung Mahayazawin.*—"The Konbaung Chronicle", 3 vols., Author and Date—Unknown. A history of Burma from King Alaungpaya (1752-1760).

333. *Yazawin Kyaw.*—"The Celebrated Chronicle". Author—Shin Samantapasadika Silavamsa, popularly known as Thilawuntha. Date—About the 15th century. The work of a great poet. Preface in Pali verse. Deals largely with the Buddhist movement in India and Ceylon. Oldest chronicle extant.

334. *Yazawinchok.*—"The Condensed Chronicle". Author—Saddhammalankara Thera. Date—Unknown. Name the same as No. (329) above but by a different author.

335. *Yazawinchok Kuncha.*—Author—Shin Sucarinda (Thusarinda). Date—Unknown. Gives genealogical tables of the Buddha's family and Indian kings contemporaneous with the Buddha, as well as those of Ceylonese and Burmese dynasties with short accounts in verse.

336. *Yazawinchok.*—"The Condensed Chronicle". Author—Monywe Sayadaw. Contains a description of kings who altered the calendar.

337. *Yazawin Minsetlinka.*—Author and Date—Unknown. A history in verse.

338. *Yazawin Te Kabyalinka.*—Author—Minister U Pyaw. Date—About 1753. A list in verse of Burmese kings from Tagaung to Ratanapura (Ava).

339. *Yazawin Thagyin.*—Author—Maung Aung Hpyo. A brief account in verse known as Thagyin of Burmese kings from Tharekhettara to Pagan.

340. *Yazawin Hmatsu.*—Author and Date—Unknown. An account of the peace made between Razadirit and the King of Ava on the intervention of Rahan Panya Thugyo.

341. *Thanhlyin Yazawin.*—Author and Date—Unknown. A short description of the Talaing kings of Hanthawaddy and Thanhlyin (Syriam).

From the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon—*contd.*

342. *Rajavamsa Tika* or *Nanavikasa Janani.*—Author—Myaungkan Sayadaw. Date—About the 18th century. A history of Burmese kings in *Pali.*

343. *Rajavamsa Tika Nissaya.*—Author—Thitsein Sayadaw. A word for word translation into Burmese of No. 342 above.

344. *Minsetlinka.*—Author—Maung Aw (Seindakyawthu). A poetical account of Burmese kings.

345. *Zimme Yazawin.*—"The Zimme Chronicle". Author and Date—Unknown. Translation into Burmese of the history of Zimme (Siam) from Siamese.

346. *Yakhaing Yazawin.*—"The Rakhaing or Arakanese Chronicle". Author and Date—Unknown. "Throws sidelights on history and abounds in legendary lore. Furnishes information on the period between the fall of Tagaung and the rise of Pagan, on which the Burmese Chronicles do not shed much light"—(Pe Maung Tin).

347. *Pawtugi Yazawin.*—"The Portuguese Chronicle". Author—Unknown; very probably some Burmanised Portuguese captive. Date—About the middle of the 17th century. A curious work, possibly the first history in Burmese by a European.

348. *Yazawin Hmat Thit.*—Author—Shin Sambuddhavamsa. Notes on the six mistakes made by Hanthawaddy Ba Min (Mahadhammayazadhipati), 1733-52.

349. *Yazawin Luta.*—History in the form of poetry known as Luta.

350. *Yazawin In Sauk.*—Shows the list of Burmese kings from Tagaung to Alaungpaya in tables.

351. *Thatonmyo Thamaing* or *Thaton Yazawinchok.*—Author—Thirizeyathu. Date—1823. An account of the kings of Thaton translated from Talaing into Burmese.

(*b*) Wars—History of.

352. *Yazadirit Ayedawpon.*—Author—Byinnya Dala. Date—16th century. An account of the wars of Yazadirit, the King of Pegu, (1385-1423).

353. *Myaungyan Min Ayedawpon.*—Author—Letwe Nawratha.

354. *Hanthawaddy Sinbyushin Ayedawpon.*—Author—Mahathiri Zeyathu Hsinbyushin's (1763-76) wars.

355. *Alaungmintayagyi Ayedawpon.*—An account of the wars of Alaungpaya (1752-60).

From the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon—*contd.*

(*c*) Vamsa—Histories in Pali.

356. *Mahavamsa.*—(Mahawin). Author—Mahanama. Date—About the beginning of the 6th century A. D. A history of Ceylon.

357. *Mahavamsa Tika.*—(Mahawin Tika Pat). Author—Dhammakyawthu. A tika or word for word translation in Pali of the preceding.

358. *Mahavamsa Nissaya.*—(Mahawin Nissaya).—Date and Authorship unknown. A word for word translation into Burmese of the Mahavamsa.

359. *Bodhivamsa Atthakatha.*—The commentary in Pali on the Bodhivamsa, a work dealing with the propagation of Buddhism in Ceylon.

360. *Bodhivamsa Tika.*—A word for word gloss in Pali on the Bodhivamsa.

361. *Datha-dhatu-vamsa Atthakatha.*—A commentary in Pali on the tooth-relics of the Buddha.

362. *Datha-dhatu-vamsa Tika.*—A word for word gloss in Pali on the Datha-dhatu-Vamsa.

363. *Anagata Vamsa.*—A Buddhist canonical work dealing with the life of the future Buddha Arimetteyya.

364. *Anagata Vamsa Atthakatha.*—A commentary in Pali on the above.

365. *Culathupavamsa.*—(Sulathupawin). A short account of the shrines enclosing the Buddha's relics.

366. *Mahathupavamsa.*—(Mahathupawin). A more elaborate account than the above.

367. *Dipavamsa.*—(Dipawin). A history of Ceylon in Pali.

368. *Naladhatu win.*—An account of the distribution of the Buddha's relics by Dona, the brahmin.

369. *Kesadhatuvamsa.*—(Kethadhatuwin). An account of Sakka's erection of the Sulamani Pagoda in Tavatimsa for the reception of the Buddha's hairs.

370. *Buddhavamsa.*—The life of the Buddha from the earliest times till his attainment of Buddhahood.

(*d*) Egyians or Historical Ballads (also called Nadawthwin).

371. *Tabinshwehti Egyin.*—Author—Thondaunghmu, Commander of the war boats of King Minkyinyo (1486-1531) of Toungoo. Written in honour of Tabinshwehti, son of the king.

372. *Bayin-hnama-daw Egyin.*—Author—Nawade Gyi (?). Date—About the 16th century. A song on the Ayuthia princess, sister of Bayinnaung's second son, the Zimme Prince.

From the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon—*contd.*

373. *Yakhaing Minthami Egyin.*—Author—Minister Aduminnyo. Date—About the beginning or middle of the 15th century. Written by the court bard of King Narameikhla (1404-34) of Arakan.

374. *Einshe Upayaza Egyin.*—Ode composed in honour of the heir-apparent to King Mindon.

375. *Thamidawmyatyatana Myapakhet Tin Mingala Egyin.*—Author—Kinwun Mingyi U Gaung. Date—1881 A. D. Ballad in honour of the birth of the third daughter of King Theebaw.

376. *Thadawmyatyatana Myapakhet Tin Mingala Egyin.*—Author—Same as above. Written in honour of the birth of a son to King Theebaw.

377. *Minyenara Egyin.*—Author—Zeyyayantameit. Date—Beginning of 17th century. Adulatory ode.

378. *Minyedeippa Egyin.*—Author—Shin Thankho. Written in honour of Minyedeippa of the Toungoo Dynasty by Shin Thankho in the time of King Thalun (1629-48).

379. *Kinwun Mingyi Egyin.*—Author—Kinwun Mingyi, U Gaung. Ode presented to King Mindon.

380. *Mintaya Medaw Egyin.*—Author—Htaungthinmhu Nawade Gyi. Composed in honour of Mintaya Medaw, daughter of Pye Min, brother of Bayin naung (1551-81).

381. *Minyatana Egyin.*

(*e*) Thamaing or Local Histories.

382. *Shwedagon Hpaya Thamaing.*—An account of the Shwedagon Pagoda, Rangoon.

383. *Meiktila Kandaw Thamaing.*—A history of the construction of the Meiktila lake.

384. *Kanthit U Thamaing.*—A description of the construction of the Kanthit U Lake in Arakan.

385. *Mahamuni Thamaing.*—An account of the Mahamuni image ascribed by the Arakanese to the reign of Sandathuriya, 146-98. Now at Mandalay. Possibly the oldest image in Burma.

386. *Mahamyatmuni Thamaing Linka.*—Author—Maung Pan Hsone. Deals with the same topic as the above but in verse.

387. *Twante Shwesandaw Thamaing Haung.*—The erection of the Shwesandaw Pagoda at Twante by the daughter of Byinnyaran, King of Pegu, (1426-46).

388. *Mahasakyáramsi Image Thamaing.*—An account of the Mahasakyaramsi Image, Mandalay, near Mandalay Hill.

From the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon—*contd.*

(*f*) Bibliographies.

389. *Pitakat Thamaing.*—A description of Pali and Burmese works. Compiled by Intayaw Sayadaw in 1795.

390. *Sulaganthawuntha Pitakat Thamaing.*—Author—Gambhirabhilankara Mahadhammarajaguru Sayadaw. Date—1779 A. D. An account of canonical and non-canonical works of Buddhism.

391. *Pitakat Thamaing.*—Author—Shwe-u-hmin Sayadaw. Date—1672 A. D. A tabulated list of Pali canonical and non-canonical works.

392. *Pitakat Thamaing.*—Author—Taungdwin U Saddhamma. Date—1795 A. D. Similar to No. 381.

393. *Pitakat Hman.*—Author—Unknown. Date—1806 A. D. Subject same as the two above.

(*g*) Dhammathat or Law Books.

394. *Wareru Dhammathat.*—The earliest extant law-book in Burmese; forms the basis of later Burmese Law literature. Compiled by order of King Wareru (1287-96) of Pegu.

395. *Wagaru Dhammathat Nissaya.* A companion to the above.

396. *Dhammavilasa Dhammathat.*—Date—About 1180 A. D. Author—Ascribed to Shin Sariputta, known as Dhammavilasa, a disciple of Ananda—a member of Chapata's group. "Dhammavilasa was a Talaing of Dalla. His law-book, the first in Upper Burma, was in Pali and it was based on Talaing or Pali sources attributed to Manu. It does not survive but quotations show that it was similar to the Wareru dhammathat".—(Harvey).

397. *Pyu Min Dhammathat.*—Supposed to have been compiled in the time of Pyusawhti of Pagan.

398. *Balabodhana Dhammathat.*—Compiled by Pyanchi Htaunghmu of Pagan.

399. *Dhammathat Chok.*—Condensed from the Dhammathat of U Hlaing in the time of King Alaungpaya.

400. *Kosaungchok Dhammathat.*—Authorship attributed to Maingkaing Myosa. Prepared under orders of Bayinnaung about the 16th century.

401. *Dhammathat Kuncha.*—By Pyanchi Htaunghmu of Pagan dealing with important points in the Manu Dhammathat.

402. *Dhammathat Atokauk.*—Translated into Burmese from Talaing in the time of Bodawpaya.

From the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon—*contd.*

403. *Dhammathat Hmatsu.*—Notes on some points in the Dhammathats.

404. *Dhammathat Kyanhtwet Winikyanhtwet Hmatsu.*—Notes called from the Dhammathats and the Vinaya on legal points.

405. *Winidhammathat.*—The law of inheritance derived from the Vinaya.

406. *Manu Rin Dhammathat Links.*—Author—Unknown. The original Manu Dhammathat in verse.

407. *Manukye Dhammathat.*—Author—Mahasiri Uttamajaya. Compiled at the instance of King Alaungpaya. Of the greatest authority even at the present time. Date about 1755-60.

408. *Pakinnaka Dhammathatlinka.*—Authorship ascribed to Thirimahathihathu. Dhammathat in verse.

409. *Ganthi Dhammathat.*—Explains knotty points in the Dhammathats.

410. *Rajabala Dhammathat.*—Name taken from the author, Rajabala Kyawhtin of Pagan. A guide for judges on matters of procedure.

411. *Sonta Dhammathat.*—Named after the compiler, Sonta Sayadaw, a monk of Hsinbyugyun, Minbu District, about 1750 A. D. In Pali verse with Burmese translation.

412. *Manutharadhammathat Nissaya.* Compiled by a dozen theras at the time of Bayinnaung.

413. *Manuwunnana Dhammathat.*—Compiled by Manuwunna Kyawhtin about 1770 in the time of King Hsinbyushin.

414. *Wineiksayapakathani Kyan.*—Native bibliographies ascribe the authorship to the same person as the last. Forchammer follows them; but Harvey mentions the poet and judge Letwethondara as the author.

415. *Manuthara Dhammathat.*—The Manusaradhammathat in *Pali.*

416. *Shwemyin Dhammathat.*—Believed to have been compiled by the Taungbila Sayadaw in *Pali*, in the time of King Thalun.

417. *Mahayaza Dhammathat.*—Kaingsa Manuraja, minister of Thalun, (1629-1648) is the author. It is the first law book in Burmese.

418. *Kaingsa Manudhammathat Nissaya Thit.*—A commentary on Kaingsa Manudhammathat written by Minhtinsithu at the request of the Kinwun Mingyi at the time of King Mindon.

419. *Manu Yin Akye Dhammathat.*—Probably by Tejosara about 1755.

420. *Amwepon Dhammathat.*—Work on inheritance. Authorship and date doubtful. Very likely the same as the Amwedawpon of the Taunbila Sayadaw at the time of King Thalun. (Harvey, p. 194).

From the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon—*contd.*

421. *U Taung Yeik Dhammathat and U Taung Yeik Amwekhan Dhammathat.* —The law of inheritance with legal procedure.

422. *Manuthara Shwemyin Dhammathat.*—By Manu Wunna Kyawhtin about 1771.

423. *Myingoon Dhammathat.*—Rendering in verse of the Myingoon code.

424. *Shwemyin Manuthara Dhammathat Nissaya.*—A commentary in Burmese by Tejosara (c. 1750) on No. 412.

425. *Wineiksaya Kuncha Dhammathat.*—A compilation made by Kyaw Din Thihathu of Amarapura.

426. *Dhammathara Myinzu Dhammathat.*—A compilation in verse by Seindakyawthu, also known as Mahasithu.

(*h*) Sadan or Diaries, Memoranda, Court Memoirs, etc.

427. *Dhammazedi Atthuppatti Sadan.*—An account of Dhammazedi, the Talaing king of Pegu, reigned (1472-92).

428. *Kinwum Mingyi Londonmyo Thwa Sadan.*—Diary of Kinwum Mingyi's visit to London.

429. *Kinwum Mingyi Pyinthitmyo Thwa Sadan.*—Kinwum Mingyi's Diary of his visit to Paris in 1873.

430. *Bodhibin Thwa Sadan.*—Journal of Mahasithu's visit to India in 1883 by order of King Tharrawaddy Min.

431. *Calcuttamyo Thwa Sadan.*—Record of the embassy sent by King Mindon to Calcutta in 1875.

432. *Yazapyakate Sadan.*—An account of Singu's taking possession of the throne, the palace, etc.

433. *She Sayadaw Puggo Kyaw do Ahset Anwe Sadan.*—A biography of famous men.

434. *Kathapabba Sadan.*—Knotty points in literature and history solved by learned men at the time of King Bodawpaya in 1785.

435. *Thinthakaraik Yazebhitheka Sadan or Sanskrit Rajabhiseka Sadan.*—A translation in Burmese presented to King Bodawpaya in 1803 of the Sanskrit work on the coronation of kings.

436. *Byadeit Taw Sadan.*—A work on Buddha's predictions of future events presented to King Bodawpaya in 1803 by Yazanandathu.

437. *Thathanawuntha Sadan.*—(Sasanavamsa). The Sasanavamsa or the History of Buddhism translated into Burmese from the Pali.

438. *Panha Vissajjana Sadan.*—Maingkaing Myosa, Khinmamin Wun's reply to the question about the date of the founding of Ava.

439. *Salwe Tin Sadan.*—A memorandum submitted to the king on the insignia worn by the nobility.

440. *Alaungmintayagyi Thingyo dawmu thi Sadan.*—An account of Hsinbyushin's cremation of Alaungpaya.

441. *Bodawmintayagyi Thingyo Sadan.*—An account of the funeral ceremonies connected with Bodawpaya's death in 1819.

442. *Bagyidawmin Muddhabhitheka Sadan.*—The coronation ceremony of Bagyidaw.

443. *Amarapuramyo Taung Zeti Ti Sadan.*—Account of the erection of a shrine at the east of Amarapura by a sister of Bagyidaw.

444. *Muddhabhitheka Sadan.*—Written in 1823; deals with coronation ceremonies.

445. *Dithazeyya Sadan.*—On the building of Palaces, etc.

446. *Ratanapura Avamyo Titaung thi Sadan.*—Hsinbyushin's foundation of Ava in 1765, and the transfer of the capital to Amarapura by Bodawpaya in 1783.

447. *She Min do Thingyo thaw Sadan.*—The funeral ceremonies of ancient kings of Burma.

448. *Thalunmin Nan Thein Sadan.*—A memorandum presented by the ministers to King Thalun on the occasion of the coronation at Ava in 1653.

449. *Thathanalinkara Sadan.*—(Sasanalankara).—Written in 1831 by Mahanandathingyan dealing with the advent and propagation of Buddhism in Burma.

450. *Yakhaing Minyazagyi Sadan.*—An account of the Arakanese dynasty presented to King Mahayazagyi (Salim Shah) of Arakan by his minister, Mahazeyathein, in 1602.

451. *Muddhabhitheka Sadan.*—Written in 1783 in the time of King Bodawpaya by Minhlathirisithu dealing with coronation ceremonies. An earlier work than No. 434.

452. *Bingala Thwa Sadan.*—A record of the Burmese mission to India arising out of the Peace of Yandabu, 1825.

453. *Amarapuramyo Ti Sadan.*—Bodawpaya's foundation of, and the transfer of the capital to, Amarapura in 1783.

454. *Myedu Minthami Nahtwin Mingala Sadan.*—Ceremonies connected with the ear-boring of the Myedu Princess, daughter of Bodawpaya, in 1785.

From the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon—*concld.*

455. *Singu Mintha Let-htat Sadan.*—Record of the marriage of Prince Singu, son of Bodawpaya, in 1782.

456. *Thami Kannya Set Sadan.*—Embassy from the Kathe (Manipur) rulers and the present of a daughter to King Alaungpaya.

457. *Thiho ka Thami Kannya Set Sadan.*—The present of a daugter to King Bayinnaung in 1574 by the King of Ceylon.

458. *Tabayin Mintha U-shaung-hton Nahtwin Mingala Sadan.*—An account of the tying of the top-knot and the ear-boring of Tabayin Prince in 1687.

459. *Sandapuri ka Thami Kannya Set Sadan.*—The presentation of a daughter to King Hsinbyushin by the ruler of Sandapuri (Vienchang, Siam) in 1765, with an account of her equipage etc.

460. *Pukhan Mintha Let-htat Mingala Sadan.*—The marriage of the Pukhan Prince and the Shwegu Princess in 1805.

461. *Pathein Mintha Hnin Yaw Minthami Let-htat Sadan.*—An account of the marriage of the Pathein (Bassein) Prince to the Yaw Princess.

462. *Pindale Mintha hnin Minshwenan Minthami Let-htat Sadan.*—The marriage of the Pindale Prince to Minshwenan Princess.

463. *Kamamintha Let-htat Sadan.*—The marriage of Prince Kama in 1783.

464. *Mintha Leba Na-htwin Mingala Sadan.*—The ear-boring of the four Princes, Minye-Myatsaw, Minyemyatswa, Maung Shwe At, and Maung Ba Nyo.

465. *Nyaungyan Mintha U-Shaung-hton Na-htwin Sadan.*—The tying of the top-knot and the ear-boring ceremony of the Nyaungyan Prince.

466. *Kanni Minthami hnin Hinthada Minthami Na-htwin Sadan.*—The ear-boring ceremony of the Kanni and the Henzada Princesses.

467. *Ratanapura Sankyaungdaw Sadan.*—The building of the Sankyaung (also called Maha-Aung-Mye) at Ava.

468. *Thamidaw Myat Ratana Hpwa-myin-daw mu thi Sadan.*—The Birth of a princess to the King.

B.—*Parabaiks* (*White*).

469. *Winkaba Pon.*—Illustrations of Mazes, Labyrinths, etc.

470. Illustrations of Royal and other barges.

471. *Ayat-yat San Nandaw Pon.*—Plans of Palaces at different places.

472. *Ratanapura Amarapura Myo Nandaw Taiktan Pon.*—Plans and illustrations of Palaces, etc., at Ava and Amarapura.

From the Pegu Club, Rangoon.

ENGRAVINGS.

473. One of the Burman Gilt War Boats captured by Capt. Chads, R. N. in his successful expedition against Tanthabeen Stockade.

474. The conflagration of Dalla on the Rangoon River.

475. The Gold Temple of the Principal IDOL GAUDMA taken from its front being the Eastern face of the Great Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon.

476. The Harbour of Port Cornwallis Island of Greatandaman with the fleet getting under weigh for Rangoon.

477. The combined forces under Brigadier Cotton, C. B. and Capt. Alexander, C. B., and Chads, R. N., passing the Fortress of Donabue to effect a juncture with Sir Achibald Campbell on the 27th March 1825.

478. H. M. S. Larne, H. C. Cruizer Mercury, Heroine, Carron and Lotus, from Ports attacking the Stockades at the entrance of Bassein River on the 26th Feb. 1825.

479. View of the Lake and Park of the Eastern Road from Rangoon taken from the advance of the 7th Madras Native Infantry.

480. The storming of one of the Principal Stockades on its inside on the 8th of July 1824.

481. Scene upon the terrace of the Great Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon looking towards the north.

482. Scene upon the Eastern Road from Rangoon looking towards the south.

483. Scene upon the terrace of the Great Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon taken near the Great Bell.

484. The Attack upon the Stockades near Rangoon by Sir Archibald Campbell, K.C.B., on the 28th May 1824.

485. View of the Great Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon and scenery adjacent to the westward of the Great Road.

486. View of the Landing at Rangoon of part of the combined Forces from Bengal and Madras under the orders of Sir Archibald Campbell, K.C.B., on the 11th of May 1824.

487. The Principal approach to the Great Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon.

488. View of the Great Dagon Pagoda and adjacent scenery taken on the Eastern Road from Rangoon.

489. Scene from the Upper Terrace of the Great Pagoda at Rangoon to the South East.

490. The attack of the Dalla Stockades by the combined Forces, on the 4th September 1824.

From the Pegu Club, Rangoon—*contd.*

491. The attempt of the Burmans to retake the Stockades of Dalla on the night of the 6th September 1824.

492. Inside view of the Gold Temple on the Terrace of the Great Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon.

493. The storming of the Fort of Syriam by a Combined Force of Sailors and European and Native Troops on the 5th August 1824.

494. The attack of the Stockades at Pagoda Point on the Rangoon River by Sir Archibald Campbell, K.C.B., on 8th July 1824.

495. The position of part of the Army previous to attacking the Stockades on the 8th of July 1824.

496. The storming of the Sesser Stockade at Kemmendine near Rangoon on the 10th of July 1824.

From Mrs Mary Wilcocks, Rangoon.

497. Correspondence between Mr. C. P. Catchick and Major A. P. Phayre, Commissioner of Pegu and Agent to the Governor General in 1858 regarding the subscription of Rs. 10,000 by the King Mindoon Min of Burma towards the Indian Relief Fund for relief of the sufferers of the Indian Mutiny.

498. The first Burmese Rupee hand pressed by the Late King Mindoon Min and handed it to the Late Mr. C. P. Catchick as a token of remembrance. It bears the impression of a "*Hintha*" on one side and the year 2396 Buddhist Era on the other.

From U Khin Maung Yin, I.C.S., Rangoon.

499. The Life and Travels of Mungo Park.

500. Compendium Doctrinæ Christianæ.

501. The Elements of General History by Stevens.

502. Six months in Martaban.

503. Alphabetum Barmanum.

504. Political History of the Extraordinary events which led to the Burmese War.

From Mr Saw Bah Chye, Rangoon.

505. Tripitakas, 10 vols.

506. Pekinger Tripitaka, 1 vol. (translation in German).

From U Po Sein, A. T. M., Rangoon.

507. "*White Parabaik*".—A white parabaik belonging to King Tharrawaddy (Konbaung min's period 1837-1846) Pictures and songs for cavalry tournament at the time of King Tharrawaddy. The songs are said to have been composed by Maungdaung Sayadaw (ex-priest). The parabaik was presented to U Po Sein, A.T.M., Deputy Inspector of Schools by the late queen of King Mindon.

Historical Records, Sagyuns and Seals.

Serial No.	Records.	Sagyuns.		Seals.	Total.	From whom received.
		one line.	two lines.			
			Taungdwingyi Township.			
508	1	...	...	...	1	Thadon headman.
509	...	1	2	...	3	Taungyaung headman.
510	...	1	...	...	1	Nyaungbinhla headman.
			Sale Township.			
511	...	...	...	2	2	Gwegyo headman.
512	...	2	8	...	10	Pyinbin Thugyi.
513	...	2	2	1	5	Zaungdawgan Thugyi.
514	...	1	4	...	5	Sudaw Thugyi.
515	...	2	6	...	8	Hteingan Thugyi.
516	...	3	8	...	11	Magyigon Thugyi.
517	...	1	6	...	7	Chaungdet Thugyi.
518	...	1	9	...	10	Thwenet Thugyi.
519	...	3	12	1	16	Meywa Thugyi.

From the Archæological Office, Burma, Mandalay.

I.—ESTAMPAGES OR PHOTOGRAPHS OF INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE, GOLD PLATES, ETC.

Halingyi, Shwebo District.

520. Pyu inscription inscribed on a stone slab originally found at Halingyi in Shwebo District, and now preserved in the Museum, Pagan. It belongs to the Vth-VIth century A. D.

From the Archæological Office, Burma, Mandalay—*contd.*

Hmawza, Old Prome.

521. Photographs (2 copies) of two different views of a round stupa found at Hmawza. It contains two lines of inscriptions, one round the top, and the other round the base, in Pali and Pyu in an early South Indian character.

522. Photographs of the inscription round the base of the stupa mentioned above. The inscription is in Pyu and probably records the dedication of the stupa on which it is incised by a certain king, named Śrī Prabhuvarma and his queen Śrī Prabhudevī. It may be assigned on palæographical grounds to the VIth-VIIth century A. D.

523. Photographs of an inscription in an early South Indian Character belonging to about the VIth—VIIth century A. D. The inscription is incised on twenty gold plates, each measuring $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$. The plates were placed between two thin sheets of gold as covers and were bound together in the form of a *parabaik* or palm-leaf manuscript, and contain extracts from the Pāli Tripiṭaka.

These plates were found at the same site as no 521 mentioned above. Nos 521 to 523 were found during the early part of the current year.

524. Pyu urn inscriptions from Hmawza recording the death of—

(*a*) King Harivikrama, (*b*) King Sihavikrama, and (*c*) inscription (in Pyu) found inscribed on the underside of another urn containing the charred remains of King Suriyavikrama.

These inscriptions are dated, and if the common Burmese era is taken, they would fall near the end of the VIIth and beginning of the VIIIth century A. D.

Reference.—Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII, pp. 127-132.

Arakan, Mrohaung.

525. Nāgarī inscription in Sanskrit inscribed on one face of a stone pillar found standing on the platform of the Shitthaung Temple, Mrohaung, Akyab District. It gives an account of a line of kings of the Śrī Dharmarājanuja-vaṇisa, preceding Ananda Chandra, to whose reign the inscription belongs. The inscription itself belongs to about the IXth-Xth century A. D.

Reference.—Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year 1925-26, para. 29 and App. H.

Pagan.

526. Myazedi inscriptions on a stone pillar originally found at Myinpagan, Pagan, and now deposited in the Museum, Pagan.

    (*a*) Pali.

    (*b*) Burmese.

    (*c*) Mon (Talaing).

    (*d*) Pyu.

The inscriptions record in four different languages, as mentioned above, the building of a shrine by Prince Rājakumāra, son of Kyanzittha, and the dedication of three villages thereto. They incidentally give the year in which king Kyanzittha ascended the throne and the length of his reign. The era used is the Buddhist era; the date of the inscription is 1112 A. D.

Duplicates of the above inscriptions may also be found on another stone pillar on the platform of the Myazedi Pagoda, Myinpagan, Pagan.

Reference.—Epigraphia Birmanica, Vol. I, Part I.

527. A Tamil inscription inscribed on a stone slab originally found at Myinpagan, and now deposited in the Museum, Pagan. It records the gifts made by a native of Malaimandalam, *i.e.*, Cranganore, in Malabar, India, to a Vishnu temple at Pagan in about the XIIIth century A. D.

Reference.—Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year 1902-03, p. 7.

528. A Burmese inscription inscribed on a stone slab and dated 647 B. E. (1285 A. D.) giving an account of Disapamok's mission from the Burmese Court to the invading Tartar General. Originally found within the precincts of Mangalazedi pagoda, and now deposited in the Museum, Pagan.

II.—Coins.

Arakan.

Early thin Coins, silver.

529. *Obverse.*—Recumbent bull facing left, with wreath round neck; above Nāgarī legend, Nīti-Chandra.

Reverse.—A trident-like ornamented with garlands, with sun and moon above.

530. Same as 529 but the recumbent bull is facing right.

From the Archæological Office, Burma, Mandalay—*contd.*

Late thick coins, silver.

531. *Obverse.*—A legend in five lines in Burmese:

၁၀၀၇ ဆင်နီသခင် ဆင်ဖြူသခင် သတိုးမင်းတရား:

Thado Min Tara, lord of the red elephant, lord of the white elephant. The date = 1645 A. D.

Reverse.—Same as on obverse.

Early symbolical coins.

532. *Obverse.*—Rising sun in dotted border.

Reverse.—Various symbols. (Four coins: specimens of them were found at Halingyi in Shwebo District.)

533. *Obverse.*—A conch shell within dotted border.

Reverse.—Various symbols. (Four coins: Specimens of them were found at Insein in Hanthawaddy District.)

534. *Obverse.*—A throne surmounted by five small stupa-shaped objects, and flanked at the centre by two symbols.

Reverse.—Dots in the centre surrounded by various symbols. (Seven coins of three different sizes. Many specimens of them were found at Hmawza (Old Prome) with other objects belonging to the VIth—VIIth century A. D.)

In spite of the various find spots of these symbolical coins, it is apparent that there is a family likeness between them and the early Arakanese coins, which are shown as Nos 529 and 530 above and are generally known as Vesali coins.

Reference.—Catalogue of Coin in the Phayre Museum; Phayre's Coin of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma; Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I; Reports of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma for the years 1924-25, and 1925-26.

III.—Sculptures and Terra-cotta Votive Tablets.

535. A bronze figure of Avalokiteśvara (damage) found at Hmawza (Old Prome). Belongs to about the VIth—VIIIth century A. D.

Reference.—Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1911-12, pp. 143 and 144, and figure 6, Plate LXVIII.

536. A bronze figure of Tārādevī originally found in Magwe District and now deposited in the Museum, Pagan. Belongs to about the IXth—Xth century A. D.

From Archæological Office, Burma, Mandalay—*concld.*

537. A bronze figure of Maitreya (damaged) containing a legend in Pyu round the pedestal. Found at Pagan and belongs to Xth—XIth century A. D. Probably brought over from Prome.

538. A gold image of Buddha seated on a pedestal. Found at Hmawza (Old Prome). Belongs to about VIth—VIIth century A. D. Is pure South Indian workmanship.

539. A bronze image of Vishnu originally found at Myinpagan, Pagan, and now in the Museum, Pagan. Belongs to XIth—XIIth century A. D.

Reference.—Annual Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year 1912-13, para. 47, and figure 2, Plate II.

540. Terra-cotta votive tablets of king Anorata, Pagan (1044-1077 A. D.).

(*a*) Containing a legend in Nagari characters.

(*b*) Containing a legend in Pali, in Talaing—Burmese characters of the period.

541. Terra-cotta votive tablets found at Pagán and belonging to XIth—XIIth century A. D.

(*a*) Containing a legend in Burmese.

(*b*) Containing a legend in Talaing.

IV.—FRESCOES.

542. (*a*) Tartar General.

(*b*) Tartar archer.

From the Deputy Commissioner, Sagaing, Burma.

In Red painted tin tube, received from U Kyaw, Myothugyi of Nabet, Myaung Township.

543. One sanad on palm leaf. (Appointment order issued by the King, dated 1233 B. E. of Nabet Myothugyi, Myaung Township who is still alive and in office.) No. Sagaing 1.

544. One sanad on palm leaf. (Appointment order issued by the Hlutaw, dated 1233 B. E. of Nabet Myothugyi). No. Sagaing 2.

In plain tin tube, received from the Township Officer, Myaung.

545. One Sanad on palm leaf. (Appointment order of Shwebon-tha Ywo-ok, Myaung Township, issued by the King, dated 1230 B. E.). No. Sagaing 3.

From the Deputy Commissioner, Sagaing, Burma— *contd.*

546. One Sanad on palm leaf. (Appointment order of Shwebon-tha Ywo-ok, Myaung Township, issued by the King, dated 1236 B. E.) No. Sagaing 4.

547. One Sanad on palm leaf. (Appointment order of Shwebon-tha Ywo-ok, Myaung Township, issued by the Hluttaw, dated 1230 B. E.) No. Sagaing 5.

In bamboo tube covered with red cloth from Mg Tha Hla, Headman of Amyin, Chaungu Township.

548. One Sanad on palm leaf. (Appointment order of Mg Thaik as "Thwe-Thauk" issued by the King, dated 1229 B. E.) No. Sagaing 6.

549. One order on palm leaf. (Order issued by Hluttaw, dated 1230 B. E. exempting Mg. Thaik and others of Amyin from Thathameda, etc.) No. Sagaing 7.

550. One order on palm leaf. (Appointment order of "
of Amyin issued by Alon Myowun.) No. Sagaing 8.

551. One order on palm leaf issued by the Thudhama Sayadaw granting permission to hold the funeral of the mother of Shin-Keitti of Amyin. No. Sagaing 9.

552. One order on palm leaf issued by the King's Sayadaw granting permission to hold the funeral of the mother of Shin-Keitti of Amyin. No. Sagaing 10.

553. One order on palm leaf issued by the King's Sayadaw granting permission to hold the funeral of the mother of Shin Withokda of Amyin. No. Sagaing 11.

Received from Mg Myo, Headman of Kaingseywa, Chaungu Township.

554. One envelope containing 3 title labels on gold and 4 title labels on silver. No. Sagaing 12.

From the Commissioner, Federated Shan States, Taunggyi, Burma.

555. One old seal of the Mongnai Sawbwa's Court. The name of the seal is "Myin Mo". In it there is engraved the "Myin Mo" mountain which is surrounded by seven ridges. At the foot of the mountain

there are two white fish with heads facing each other. In the middle of the mountain there is the figure of a white rabbit on the right and the figure of a peacock on the left which represent respectively the moon and the sun. Only the powerful Sawbwas of the Shan States were granted seals of this description, but as a special mark of distinction the Burmese Kings granted the Mongnai Sawbwa this seal which unlike others has the two fish at the foot of the "Myin Mo" shown in white while in others this would be in red with perhaps in one or two exceptions.

556. A parabaik (hand painted) detailing the regalia and other articles to be used by the Mongnai Sawbwa as granted by the Burmese Kings.

The original of the letter was lost in the fire.

MGIPC—L—III-12-21—17-10-28—275.